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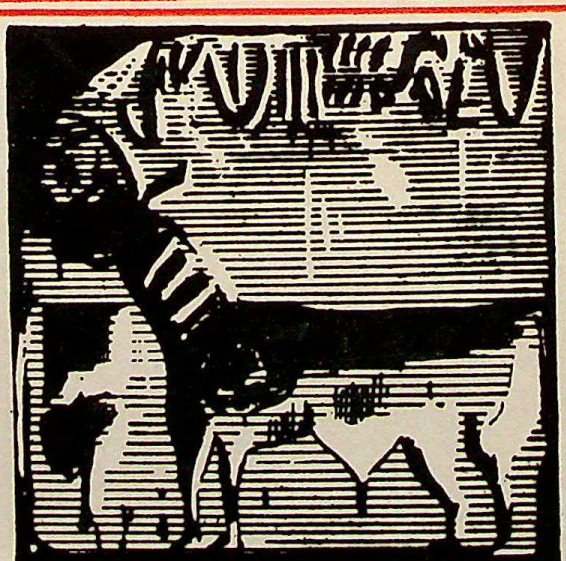

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THE
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Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire

1. *Puṣyamitra*

After the two great Maurya emperors, Candragupta and Aśoka, Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, is the only Indian ruler of the early historic period whose memory Indians of different denominations, the Brahmans, the Buddhists and the Jainas, could not let die. The story of Puṣyamitra's usurpation of the Maurya throne is thus told in the Purāṇas that give account of the dynasties of the Kali age :—

"These are the ten Mauryas who will enjoy the earth full 137 *years*. After them it will go to the Śuṅgas. Puṣyamitra, the Commander-in-chief (*senānī*) will uproot Bṛhadratha and will rule the kingdom as king for 36 years."[1]

This tradition is repeated with a few more details by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita, ch. vi. :—

"The wicked (*anārya*) general (*senānī*) Puṣyamitra crushed to death his foolish master, Maurya Bṛhadratha, having paraded his whole army on the pretext of review."[2]

1 Pargiter, *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 70.

2 *Śrī-Harṣacaritamahākāvyam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, edited by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1909, p. 269 ; Cowell & Thomas, *Harṣacarita of Bāṇa*, London, 1897, p. 193.

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Puṣyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, a branch of the Bhāradvāja clan of Brahmans. He is called *anārya* by Bāṇa on account of his treachery and not on account of his birth. The grammarian Patañjali, who was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, gives us a few precious glimpses of Puṣyamitra and his time in the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. In his comment on Pāṇini I, 1, 58, Vār. 7, Patañjali, after stating that a compound word made up of *rājan* (king) and *sabhā* (court) and meaning "king's court" should not be neuter (*rājasabham*), but feminine (*rāja-sabhā*), adds, "(compound word) made up of the name of a particular rājā (and sabhā) is not (neuter but feminine)." To illustrate this rule Patañjali mentions, *Puṣyamitra-sabhā*, "the court of Puṣymitra", *Candragupta-sabhā*, "the court of Candragupta." Mention of the names of Candragupta and Puṣyamitra side by side indicates that these kings are evidently the founder of the Maurya and the Śuṅga dynasties respectively. In his explanation of Pāṇini 111, 2, 123, Vār. 1, Patañjali writes that the group of verbal suffixes known as *laṭ* is used to denote action that has been begun but not yet finished, action that is in progress, and gives as examples, "Here we are reading ; here we are sitting ; here we are causing Puṣyamitra to perform sacrifice (as officiating priests)." The last sentence has led scholars to the conclusion that Patañjali compiled this part of the Mahābhāṣya at a time when he was engaged in officiating as a priest in a sacrifice (presumably a horse sacrifice) undertaken by Puṣyamitra. The sacrifice of Puṣyamitra as a present (contemporary) event is again referred to by Patañjali under Pāṇini III, 1, 26 (Vār. 3, 4). Pāṇini lays down in III, 2, 111 :—*anadyatane laṅ*

"The *laṅ* affixes are added to a verbal root to denote what is not (occurring) to-day (but what happened in the past)."

This aphorism is governed by Pāṇini III, 2, 84, *bhūte*, "affixes dealt with hereafter denote the past", and this famous Vār. is added to it :—

Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayokturdarśanaviṣaye

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"(*Laṅ* affixes added to verbal root denote) universally known (action) that (happened) out of sight, but within the range of sight of the narrator."

The apparent contradiction between out of sight (*parokṣe*) and within the range of vision (*darśanaviṣaye*) is thus explained by Kaiyaṭa, the scholiast of Patañjali :—

ananubhūtatvāt parokṣo'pi pratyakṣa-yogyatāmātrāśrayeṇa darśanaviṣaye iti virodhābhāvaḥ

"(Something that is) 'out of sight' on account of its not being actually perceived is within the range of sight if it is only capable of being witnessed ; so there is no contradiction." In other words, it means something that happens out of sight of the narrator, but within his life time. As examples Patañjali states, *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavanaḥ Madhyamikām*, "the Yavana besieged Sāketa, the Yavana besieged Madhyamikā." From these examples Dr. Sten Konow concludes :—

"At all events we must conclude that the operations referred to were taking place about the time when Patañjali wrote the third book of his commentary and they were accordingly contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice."[1]

If Dr. Sten Konow here means to say that the statements of Patañjali indicate that the composition of the commentary (*bhāṣya*) on Pāṇini, III, 2, the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana, and Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice, were all going on simultaneously, he is wrong. Under Pāṇini III, 2, 123, Puṣyamitra's sacrifice is referred to as an act which has been begun but not yet completed (*ārabdho aparisamāptaśca vartamānaḥ*—Kāśikā) ; but the siege of Sāketa is referred to under Pāṇini III, 2, 111 which treats of *bhūta*, 'past,' *anadyatana* (=*avidyamānādyatana*), 'not in progress on the present day,' i.e. completed in the past.

1 Sten Konow, "Some problems raised by the Khāravela Inscription," *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 31.

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So the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā could not have been contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice, but must have taken place before. Jinendrabuddhi in his Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā writes[1] :—

mūlodāharaṇe'pi prayoktā Sāketāvarodhatulyakālo veditavyaḥ tasyaiva hyasau darśanaviṣayaḥ nānyasya.

"In the original example the narrator (Patañjali) is to be recognised as one alive at the time of the siege of Sāketa. He could have witnessed that (operation); no other writer (who quotes from his commentary) could."

The examples of Patañjali under Pāṇini III, 2, 111 and 123 taken together, therefore, indicate that the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana king took place sometime before his composition of that part of the Mahābhāṣya. The Yavana invaders of Oudh and Rajputana were evidently repulsed by Puṣyamitra who then undertook a horse sacrifice in which the great grammarian officiated as a sacrificial priest and composed his commentary on Pāṇini III, 2 when the sacrifice was in progress. In the fifth act of Kālidāsa's drama, Mālavikāgnimitra, Agnimitra, Rājā of Vidiśā (Besnagar near Bhilsa), receives a letter from his father Puṣyamitra, who has the title Senāpati, "commander-in-chief", and, who is called Vaidiśa, "native of Vidiśā". In this letter Puṣyamitra, already initiated in *rāja-yajña*, royal sacrifice or horse sacrifice, informs Agnimitra that the sacrificial horse was let loose to wander freely for a year in charge of Vasumitra (son of Agnimitra) who was accompanied by one hundred princes. While the horse was wandering in the region south of the river Sindhu, it was obstructed by the leader of the Yavana (Greek) cavalry. Then there was a great fight between the troops of Vasumitra and the Yavanas which ended in the defeat of the latter. After its release the sacrificial horse has been led back to the capital

1 The *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (*Nyāsa*) by Jinendrabuddhi, edited by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajshahi. p. 941.

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and is going to be sacrificed. So Agnimitra is invited to attend the sacrifice with his wives.

Dr. Sten Konow finds in this narrative a corroboration of his "inference drawn from the Mahābhāṣya that Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice coincided with the operations undertaken by the Yavana conquerors." Kālidāsa may corroborate Dr. Sten Konow's inference; but Patañjali's references to the horse sacrifice of Puṣyamitra and the siege operations of the Yavana invader do not in any way corroborate Kālidāsa's account of the fight between the guards of the sacrificial horse and the Yavana cavalry. In Patañjali, the Yavana invasion is a thing of the past, though not remote past, and Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice belongs to the present.

The Buddhist legends relating to Puṣyamitra are given in the concluding portion of the Divyāvadāna, XXIX, where Puṣyamitra is represented as the last king of the Maurya dynasty and not the first king of the succeeding Śuṅga dynasty. It is said therein that once Puṣyamitra asked his ministers, "How can I make my name immortal." They replied, "There was a king named Aśoka of your dynasty. He built 84,000 dharmarājikās (stūpas). His (Aśoka's) fame will endure so long as the religion of the Bhagavat (Buddha) will endure. Your Majesty should also build 84,000 dharmarājikās (stūpas)." The king said, "Rājā Aśoka was a great king; suggest some other way." His Brahman priest who was a non-believer in Buddhism said, "Your Majesty, there are two different ways of making the name immortal." Rājā Puṣyamitra, saying, "I shall uproot the religion of Buddha by mobilising the fourfold army," proceeded to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery. The roar of a lion was heard at the gate. The king was frightened and returned to Pāṭaliputra. This happened twice or thrice. Then, summoning the assembly of monks, he said, "I shall uproot the religion of Buddha; do you want the stūpa or the monastery?" The monks accepted (the gift). Puṣyamitra went forth destroying the Buddhist monasteries and slaughtering

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the monks. When he reached Sākala, he issued this proclamation. "Whoever will present me the head of a Śramaṇa will be rewarded with 100 *dināras*." But ultimately Puṣyamitra failed in his attempt and was killed by a Yakṣa named Kṛmisena who vowed to protect the religion of Buddha.

This legend clearly indicates that Puṣyamitra was remembered by the Buddhists as a non-Buddhist monarch whose dominion extended as far as Sākala (Sialkot) and who tried to rival Aśoka in power and fame.

No story relating to Puṣyamitra has yet been discovered in the Jaina literature. But in one of the works of Merutuṅga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century A.C., occur for the first time three Prākṛt memorial verses in one of which Puṣyamitra (Pussamitta) is mentioned. The verses are thus translated by Bühler :—

"Pālaka, the lord of Avantī, was anointed in that night in which the Arahat and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra entered *Nirvāṇa*.

"Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas ; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pussamitta (Puṣyamitra).[2]

"Sixty (years) ruled Bālamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhobāhana (*Nahavāhana*). Thirteen years likewise lasted the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are the years of Śaka.".[3]

As Dr. Sten Konw has attempted to build the Śuṅga chronology[1] on the basis of these verses, they deserve our careful attention. Dr. Jarl Charpentier writes about the authorship and the date of these verses, "That they were not composed by Merutuṅga himself or any of his contemporaries is certain, because at that time Jaina authors had long ago ceased to write in Prākṛt."[2] The Jainas ceased to

1 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. p. 33, ff.
2 *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 1914, p. 120.

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write in Prākṛt not very long before Merutuṅga, for Hemacandra wrote his Prākṛt Dvyāśraya Kāvya a little over a century before him. In the Pariśiṣṭaparvaṇ, VI, 243, Hemacandra writes :—

anantaraṃ Vardhamānasvāmi-nirvāṇāvasarāt
gatāyaṃ śaṣṭhivatsaryāmeṣa Nando 'bhavannṛpaḥ

"Sixty years after the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamānasvāmin this Nanda became king."

This statement leaves room for a reign of sixty years for Pālaka, king of Avantī, between the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and the accession of Nanda. But Hemacandra's narrative of the history of Magadha and of Avantī (Mālava) before the accession of Nanda is not in agreement with the first memorial verse quoted by Merutuṅga. The king of Magadha whom, according to Hemacandra, Nanda succeeded was Udāyin, son of Kuṇika. A rājā was once deposed by Udāyin and died. The son of the deposed king went to Ujjain, the capital of Avantī, and entered the service of the king who was an enemy of Udāyin. The prince proposed to the king of Avantī that if the latter would order him, he would proceed to Pāṭaliputra and assassinate Udāyin. The king of Avantī, whose name is not given by Hemcandra, approved the proposal and the prince went to Pāṭaliputra and disguised as a Jaina monk assassinated Udāyin. As Udāyin had no male issue, the royal elephant (*paṭṭahastin*) issued out of the palace with other insignia of royalty and meeting on the way Nanda, who was being led in procession round the city after his marriage, put him (Nanda) on his back. Nanda was accordingly proclaimed king. The assassin who paved the way for Nanda's accession fled to Ujjain and claimed his reward from the king of Avantī. The latter, instead of rewarding the assassin, forthwith banished him from the city. This king of Avantī who lived to banish the assassin of Udāyin a few days after the accession of Nanda and whose death is not referred to by Hemacandra, cannot be identified with Pālaka of the memorial verses who died synchronously

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with the accession of Nanda. If, therefore, Pālaka's story was unknown to Hemacandra, a Śvetāmbara Jaina author of encyclopædic learning, when he dealt with the traditional history of Avantī of that period, the conclusion is irresistible that Pālaka was brought into relation with the Śvetāmbara Jaina chronology after Hemacandra wrote his Pariśiṣṭa-parvaṇ.

The statement in the memorial verse (2), "but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas", is also far in excess of what Hemacandra indicates as the duration of the rule of the Nanda dynasty. Regarding the date of the accession of Candragupta Maurya who supplanted the Nanda dynasty Hemacandra writes (VIII, 339) :—

evaṃ ca śrī-Mahāvīramuktervarṣaśate gate
pañca-pañcāśadadhike Candragupto 'bhavannṛpaḥ

"Candragupta became king 155 years after the liberation or nirvāṇa of the illustrious Mahāvīra (Vardhamāna)."

This leaves only 95 years for the Nanda rule which closely agrees with the Paurāṇic statement that after the Nandas "have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas". It seems to me that the author of the memorial verses, in order to make an adjustment of the era of the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra current in his time and the Mālava Vikrama era started with a king of Avantī (Pālaka), transferred to him the 60 years that intervened between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Nanda according to an earlier tradition recorded by Hemacandra, and transferred to the dynasty the 155 years that intervened between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Candragupta. His allotment of 108 years to the Maurya dynasty is also wrong. The Purāṇas assign a total of 85 years to the reign of the first three Mauryas and the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa, that hands down the Buddhist tradition, gives 89 years or 4 years more only. According to Hemacandra (VIII, 326) the dynasty founded by Candragupta Maurya lasted for nine generations and from his account of the reign of the fourth Maurya king

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Samprati it is evident that according to the Jaina tradition he also must have enjoyed a long reign like his predecessors. So even if we allow a reign of 20 years to Samprati, a total of 3 years only is left for the 5 last Maurya kings out of a total of 108 years. The total of 137 years for the Maurya dynasty given in the Purāṇas suits better not only the Paurāṇik and Buddhist traditions, but also the Śvetāmbara traditions as preserved by Hemacandra.

Jacobi[1] and Charpentier,[2] who have fully discussed the verses, consider them valueless for fixing the date of the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Dr. Sten Konow attempts to fix the date of Puṣyamitra in accordance with these verses. But he does so, not by relying on these verses alone, but by combining the statements made in these verses relating to the Mauryas and Puṣyamitra with the Paurāṇik evidence. As we have already seen, it is said in verse 2 that "one hundred and eight (years) those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pussamitta (Puṣyamitra)." Dr. Sten Konow adopts Jacobi's reduction of these statements in terms of B. C. and quotes him thus: "It has been pointed out by Jacobi that the stanzas place the accession of Candragupta in B. C. 312 and that of Puṣyamitra in B. C. 204, while the latter king's rule is stated to have come to an end in B. C. 174".[3] If the stanzas mean anything, they mean that after 108 years the Maurya dynasty came to an end and after 30 following years the reign of Puṣyamitra came to an end. But Dr. Sten Konow suggests a modification of meaning and a combination of the testimonies of the Jaina *gāthās* with the Paurāṇik

1 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, edited by H. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 7-10 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii, 1); *Sthavirāvalicarita* or *Pariśiṣṭaparva* of Hemacandra, edited by H. Jacobi (Bib. Ind.), pp. 4-6.

2 Jarl Charpentier, "The Date of Mahāvīra", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLIII, pp. 119-123.

3 *Acta Orientalia*, vol, I. p. 34.

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evidence. He argues that the *gāthās* are not meant as a chronology of the Magadha kings, as has usually been assumed, but are *in reality* meant as an enumeration of the rulers of Central India between the Nirvāṇa and Vikramāditya. If this is once admitted, all difficulties in the way of reconciling Jaina gāthic with Paurāṇik evidences disappear. In the *gāthās* 108 years assigned to the Mauryas are not meant as the total duration of the dynasty, but as the duration of the Maurya rule in Central India. Candragupta conquered Central India in 312 B. C. and earned for his dynasty the right to be included in the Jaina *gāthās* first cited by Merutuṅga. One hundred and eight years later, in 204 B.C., Puṣyamitra, called a Vaidiśa in the Mālavikāgnimitra, started on his career as *Senāpati* or *Senānī*, i.e. general of the Maurya forces and governor of Mālava. But how with the appointment of Puṣyamitra as governor of Mālava, the Maurya rule in Mālava came to an end is not explained. The Maurya dynasty survived in Magadha for about 30 years more, thus approximating the Paurāṇik total of 137 years. In 174 B.C. Puṣyamitra, who had made himself practically independent of Magadha earlier, after having ruled there (in Mālava) thirty years, rose against the Maurya king, made himself master of Magadha and reigned there for six years more, thereby completing the reign of 36 years alloted to him by the Purāṇas. The reason why Dr. Sten Konow considers the Jaina *gāthās* an exclusive enumeration of the kings of Central India is that the first and the last kings, Pālaka and Gardhabhilla, belong to Mālava exclusively. But neither Pālaka nor Gardhabhilla, nor any other ruler who held sway in Mālava exclusively, find place in the Paurāṇik list pertaining to the period before the beginning of the Christian era. How, therefore, can the reign of 36 years assigned to Puṣyamitra by the Purāṇas after the fall of the Mauryas be divided into two different periods—one of 30 years as ruling exclusively in Mālava, and one of 6 years as ruling over both Magadha and Mālava. Dr. Sten Konow does not explain.

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It appears to me that Dr. Sten Konow's combination of Jaina *gāthic* and *Paurāṇik* statements is not justifiable, and the *gāthās* afford no real ground for rejecting the commonly accepted date of the reign of Puṣyamitra (B.C. 184-148) as the successor of the Mauryas. Evidence furnished by the Greek sources points to the same conclusion.

As we have seen above (p. 398), according to Buddhist tradition Sākala (Sialkot) was included in the kingdom of Puṣyamitra. But very probably, not long after his accession, he came into conflict with the Grœko-Bactrian invaders over the possession of this city. The extent of the Grœko-Bactrian conquest is thus described by Strabo (XI, 516):—

"The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of country that they became masters of Ariana (roughly, Southern Afghanistan) and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemia. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraotes and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast..... .."[1]

According to Justin (Prologue to Book XLI) the Indian conquests, attributed by Apollodorus of Artemia to Demetrius and Menander, were ascribed by Trogus Pompeius to Appollodorus and Menander.[2] So the connection of Demetrius with these conquests is doubtful. We are on surer ground with regard to Menander. Demetrius is referred to by Polybius who states that when the Seleucid king Antiochus III invaded Bactria (c. 208 B.C.), Euthydemus, who had seized the throne of Bactria by overthrowing Diodotus II, sent his son Demetrius, then a young man, to meet

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100-1.

2 *Cambridge His. of India*, I, p. 543.

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him. Antiochus was so pleased with his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that "he first promised to give one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal title to his father."[1] Who among the early Indo-Greek invaders conquered Sākala is a matter of dispute. Dr. George Macdonald points out that the statement that Demetrius fixed his capital at Sāgala which he called Euthydemia in honour of his father is open to challenge.[2] Dr. Sten Konow ignores the statement of Trogus Pompeius and holds, without any hesitation, that the Yavana king who laid siege to Sāketa and Madhyamikā contemporaneously with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice was Demetrius, son of Euthydemus.[3] As the career of Demetrius practically came to an end soon after 175 B.C. when Eucratides revolted and usurped the throne of Bactria, such an assumption involves the assignment of the horse sacrifice in the very year of of Puṣyamitra's usurpation of the imperial throne. This is incredible. Therefore we have to fall back upon the Paurāṇik tradition that Puṣyamitra usurped the throne of Magadha 137 years after the accession of Candragupta (i.e. c. B.C. 184). If this is done, enough time is allowed him to consolidate his power and perform the horse sacrifice even if Menander is ignored and Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, is recognized as the invader of Sāketa and Madhyamikā.

In a Brāhmī inscription discovered at Ayodhyā and dealt with below it is said that Senāpati Puṣyamitra performed, not one, but two horse sacrifices. From this it may be inferred that Puṣyamitra's career as the ruler of the empire of Magadha was one of continued prosperity and triumph. Mr. Jayaswal has discovered a reference to Puṣyamitra's horse saorifice in the Harivaṃśa, the supplement of the great epic Mahābhārata, which shows that his was an exceptionally successful career. The stanzas of the Harivaṃśa

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 209.
2 *Cambridge His. of India*, I, p. 446. 3 *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 33.

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(iii, 192, 40-41) that contain the reference tell us, "A certain Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa family, a Senānī, will suddenly rise into power and again perform the horse sacrifice in the Kali age. O King of kings, in that age his descendants will perform Rājasūya, as the all-destroying Kāla seizes the demon Śvetagraha." Here Kāśyapa is evidently a mistake for Śuṅga, for the exceptional title *Senānī* for a performer of the royal horse sacrifice and the epithet *audbhijja*, 'one who suddenly rises from underground,' indicate that the usurping Senāpati or Senānī is no other than Puṣyamitra. Ancient Indian tradition knows no other king of this type. The prophecy is put in the mouth of Vyāsa who also predicts that King Janamejaya's horse sacrifice will be obstructed by Indra. In Harivaṃśa iii, 195, 11-17 it is said that in course of time King Janamejaya did undertake the horse sacrifice, and when his chief queen Vapuṣṭamā lay by the slaughtered horse, Indra entered the dead body of the animal and outraged her. For this Janamejaya cursed the god saying, "Henceforward, O Śaunaka, Kṣatriyas will not offer horse sacrifice to the lecherous and restless Indra."[1] Though it is very difficult, and to me it seems impossible, to determine when King Janamejaya lived and whether he ever lived at all,[2] one element of this legend seems to have a basis of fact. The Aśvamedha involved the performance of a very obscene rite—the chief queen of the king who undertook the rite was required to lie by the dead horse. The legend of Janamejaya's horse sacrifice indicates that the growing unpopularity of this practice rendered the ceremony itself unpopular. There is independent evidence to show that the obscene elements of the Vedic rites grew unpopular in course of time and fell into desuetude. Regarding an obscene practice connected with the Mahāvrata it is stated in the Śāṅkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (XVII,

1 *Adya prabhṛti Devendraṃ = ajitendriyaṃ – asthiraṃ Kṣatriyā vājimedhena na yakṣant = iti Śaunaka.*

2 See Roy Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, I, pp. 1-16.

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6, 2), "This is an ancient rite that has fallen into desuetude; it should not be performed as a part of the Mahāvrata." According to the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (XV, 1) horse sacrifice is provided for a king who has conquered his enemies and gained overlordship (*rājā vijitī sārvabhaumaḥ*). When Puṣyamitra performed the horse sacrifice that had long been in abeyance (for there is no evidence to show that his predecessors, the Śaiśunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas ever performed it) and therefore was not necessary for signalizing his position, there must have been strong inducements and exceptional successes. We have already seen that the grammarian Patañjali, the author of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, officiated as Puṣyamitra's sacrificial priest. Patañjali is recognised with Pāṇini and Kātyāyana as one of the three Munis or highest authorities on Sanskrit grammar and also as an incarnation of the divine serpent Ananta or Śeṣa. In his Introduction to the Mahābhāṣya,[1] Patañjali explains fully the objects, all concerned more or less with the study of the Veda and the performance of sacrifice, of studying grammar and bases his arguments mainly on the authority of the Ṛks. He concludes :—

"In ancient time this was the practice: The Brāhmaṇas studied grammar immediately after the *upanayana* (wearing of the holy thread). Instruction on the words of the Veda was imparted to those only who knew the places where originated the sounds and the internal and external efforts required for uttering sounds (as a result of studying grammar). This is no longer the practice now. After reading the Veda only (people) quickly become reciters (of the Veda) and say, 'We learn the Vedic words from the Veda and the words of the popular dialect from the current usage; so grammar is not necessary. As a friend of such misguided students, the teacher (Patañjali) expounds this text (Mahābhāṣya)."

These observations of the great grammarian clearly indi-

1 For Eng. trans. by P. C. Chakravarti, see *IHQ*, I, p. 714.

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cate that in the reign of Puṣyamitra, among the Brāhmans, the study of the Veda had degenerated into a mechanical affair and the decline of the Vedic studies must have been followed by the decline of the Vedic religion. It was evidently to revive the Vedic studies that Patañjali composed his Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, and to restore Vedic religion to its pristine ascendancy that Puṣyamitra performed the horse sacrifice twice. There appears to be this much of truth in the Buddhist legends about Puṣyamitra that he endeavoured to do for Brahmanism what Aśoka had done for Buddhism. In the Āpastambīya Śrauta-sūtra (XX, 1) it is said, "A rājā who is the overlord of all (*sārvabhauma*) should perform horse sacrifice; also one who is not overlord of all (*apyasārvabhauma*)." In the Vedic period when horse sacrifice was a common occurrence, it might have been possible for a ruler who was an *a-sārva-bhauma* to perform the rite which involved the wandering of the sacrificial horse freely for a year guarded by 100 princes, 100 kṣatriya warriors, 100 sons of sūtas and head-men of villages, 100 sons of charioteers and ministers, all properly armed, with the tacit consent of the neighbouring states. But in an epoch when horse sacrifice must have been looked upon as an innovation, Puṣyamitra could hardly have let loose his sacrificial horse to wander freely for a year without first making himself sure of the allegiance of the neighbouring kingdoms, that is to say, after attaining the overlordship of all the neighbouring kingdoms. Such an achievement cannot be credited to a weak ruler whose kingdom was subject to repeated invasions by a rājā of Kaliṅga and who had ultimately to save his throne by falling at the feet of the latter, as the modern interpreters of the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela would have us believe.

(To be continued)

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

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Vedānta and the Vedāntist

The division of the life of the ancient Hindu into four *āśramas* gave rise to a peculiar division of the entire population of the country. On the one hand, there were those who had a fixed home, and who established and reared families and, among other things, felt it their duty to support the community of *sannyāsins*, by giving them alms. On the other hand, there were these *sannyāsins*, who had renounced the world and maintained themselves either by begging alms of men, or by depending on the bounty of nature which was sufficiently generous in India. Of these *sannyāsins*, again, there were two classes : (i) those who left the world after having been in it, at the ripe old age of fifty according to some and seventy according to others and (ii) those who never entered the world at all and became *sannyāsins* as soon as they were able to do so,—soon after the completion of their education,—without ever undergoing the responsibilities of a householder's life. The *sannyāsins* had no fixed home, they spent their time either in wandering from place to place, or in meditation in deep forests. The other section of the population, of course, lived in towns and villages, owning a family and shouldering the responsibilities of having one.

Towns, as distinguished from villages, must have been a later growth. And in classical Sanskrit literature, we find that, apart from the division into *āśramas* which made one section of the population extremely mobile, there was yet another division, viz., the town population and the population in the villages. In the *kāvyas* and the romances, and also in the more sacred books like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find ample description of the splendour of cities ; and by the side of these, we are told of the quiet homes of the *ṛṣis*, living outside the cities. There was a sharp difference in the standard and mode of life of these two divisions of the population. In the cities, there lived

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of course the king, his courtiers, soldiers and ministers; besides, there were the mechanics and artisans and merchants. A rather dark picture of town life is preserved in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*; but there is no reason to think that the whole picture is imaginary.

As far as castes are concerned, we must own that all of them were represented in the towns. There were also brahmins, who did not live the life of a *sannyāsin* and were not averse to politics nor unwilling to accept posts under the king. We know that some important posts in the royal household, such as that of *kañcukī*, were given to brahmins; and that ministers were sometimes appointed from among them.

But true Brahmins and real Brahminism lived outside the cities in hamlets and hermitages. They carried on their religious rites, their study and teaching in unostentatious homesteads, far away from the glamour and temptation of city life. Socially, they were not cut off from the city population; the king as the common protector of both cities and hermitages kept the link between the two. The Brahmins were frequently summoned from the hermitages for the performance of religious ceremonies; and they sought the protection of the king when necessary (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 21). And in big social gatherings, such as a royal marriage or an *aśvamedha* sacrifice, the tapavana brahmins could not possibly be forgotten. Sometimes, the king and the citizens went on a visit to a *ṛṣi* in his hermitage (*Mbh.*, iii; *Daśa kumāracarita*, i,i). But if the picture presented in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* (Act iv) is true, then a time must have been there when, owing to the slackness perhaps of town-life, the hermit brahmin had a horror of visiting a city. Yet there seems to have been no permanent and insurmountable barrier between these two sections of the population of the country.

It should be noted that, the hermitage population did not consist entirely of *sannyāsins*; they kept home and had wife and children. In fact, they lived the life of an ordinary

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man ; it was a case of plain living and high thinking. Vivid and copious description of the life of these hermit folk is preserved in the literature of the land. One of the most charming and romantic descriptions of this kind is that of Kālidāsa in his *Śakuntalā*.

Besides these married men with fixed homes, outside the cities, there were the wandering sages and the hermits who performed austerities in some locality. Some of them became *sannyāsins*, after undergoing the life of a householder; but there were others who had never been a householder. And some of them wandered from place to place while others continued their austere practices in the same locality.

So far as caste was concerned, this rigorous life was lived, it seems, more or less exclusively by brahmins ; kṣatriyas also, at old age, sometimes took to the life of a hermit ; and sometimes other castes also aspired to this spiritual discipline. But as a general rule, it was the practice of the brahmins to adopt the fourth *āśrama* or *sannyāsa*, either after passing through all the previous *āśramas*, or directly from their student life.

So far as the city population was concerned, it consisted mainly of the political and industrial classes ; learned men also were there, specially those who were employed as teachers of the sons of rich men and of kings. And secular works of the type of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* was certainly products of cities.

The brahmin population outside the city consisted mainly of persons engaged in spiritual pursuits and of wandering sages (*parivrājakas*) and hermits. Even the priests and preceptors of kings and of the citizens lived very often outside the city, and the spiritual and religious learning was in their possession. They frequented the courts of princes and received their protection and patronage.

It is undeniable that the *sannyāsin* orders were existing even in pre-Buddhistic days ; but with Buddhism, a new order of *sannyāsins* was introduced and the whole congregation of them

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lived together in *Vihāras*. This probably led to the establishment of *maṭhas* by Hindu *sannyāsins* on similar lines. Before the advent of Buddhism, the Hindu *sannyāsins* probably did not live in brick- or stone-built houses. *Manu* vi. 26., even suggests that the *sannyāsin* should not own any fixed abode and the shade of a tree should be his only shelter. (Cf. Yājñavalkya, iii. 51 *et seq.*; Hārīta, v, vi; &c.). But after the advent of Buddhism, it seems that Hindu *sannyāsins* also developed the custom of living in groups and even organised societies of their own.

As distinguished from the city, the village and the monastery, there was yet another place in India which deserves some consideration. It was the '*Tīrtha*' or sacred place. These places, even up to the present day, have attracted men of profound learning and high spiritual attainments, *sannyāsins* as well as non-*sannyāsins*.

With regard to the *sannyāsins*, whether residing in '*Tīrthas*' or elsewhere, it is to be noted that, according to *Manu* vi. 97., all the four *āśramas* were to be followed by Brahmins only. That is to say, the last two *āśramas*, though open to all the three higher castes, were not, strictly speaking, followed only by the Brahmins. The spirit of the *Dharma-śāstras* seems to have been that *sannyāsa* was to be adopted only after one has done his duties as a householder. We find it frequently mentioned (*Manu* vi. 3., &c.) that the wife also could, if she so chose, accompany her husband to the forest. Hence, according to the orthodox view, one could become a *sannyāsi* only after he had passed through the discipline of the preceding *āśramas*. The *Dharma-sūtras* and the *Dharma-saṃhitās* both agree in this.

Yet this strict, orthodox view does not seem to have been always adhered to. At any rate, after Buddhism, if not before it also, a class of *sannyāsins* seems to have been in existence, who renounced the world early in life and so did not pass through the previous *āśramas*.

We see then that the population of the country consisted of

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(i) The city population : which was made up of all castes, but contained the political and industrial classes, as a special feature. The Brahmins also were there and some learned men resided among them.

(ii) The population outside the city, in villages, hermitages and in other places : this was made up of the majority of Brahmins, the agricultural classes, and the wandering sages and other anchorites.

So far as the Brahmins were concerned, they lived mainly outside the city, specially those among them who wanted to retain the holiness of their caste and attain proficiency in the performance of religious rites and pursue philosophical studies. Though the *Kāvya* literature was mainly a product of cities and bears the stamp of city life, yet, tradition has it, that some of them also were produced outside the cities, e. g., the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And as to the sacred literature, it cannot be gainsaid that, almost without exception, it was a product of rural areas and was produced by men who lived outside the cities.

Vasiṣṭha, xiii. forbids the reading of the Vedas in a city ; and the larger sacrifices, such as an *Aśvamedha*, were usually performed by kings outside the cities (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 8 ; vii. 104 ; &c.). Whatever the reason for the latter practice may have been, the fact that the reading of the Vedas was forbidden in a city is significant. It shows that the orthodox Brahmins wanted to keep away from the city as far as practicable. This is corroborated by the remarks of the young Brahmins in *Śakuntalā*, Act v.

But it does not follow from the above that there was necessarily any hostility between the people of the city and outside places. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, though composed in a quieter place, was first sung, we are told (vii. 106), in a royal court. And many of the Upaniṣadic discourses were also held in courts of kings.

Now, as to the Brahmins living outside the cities, at least three important orders may be noted :

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(a) The *Gṛhasthas* : Those who lived the life of ordinary men, owned a home, married and established families, accepted and taught pupils, practised the appointed religious rites, showed hospitality to guests and to wandering *sannyāsins*, &c.

(b) The *Vānaprasthas* : Those who, having become old, had left their household in the care of their children and had retired to solitude to spend the rest of their life in prayer and in meditation.

(c) Those *sannyāsins* who had never become *gṛhasthas*, but had taken to the life of a *sannyāsin* immediately after their education was completed.

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Originally, the last two classes do not appear to have had any fixed habitations ; but, at least in post-Buddhist days, whole congregations of them lived in permanent habitations, established *maṭhas*, *vihāras*, and other kinds of monasteries, in *tīrthas* and elsewhere.

It is important to know this classification of the population and its distribution in ancient India, with a view to ascertain from which class the Vedāntists were mainly recruited.

During the Upaniṣadic times, the teachers of Brahma-vidyā as a rule were not *sannyāsins*. Not much is known of the biography or the private life of these men ; but we know enough to be able to say that most of them were married men and owned a household ; even when teaching the subject, they had not become *sannyāsins*. Thus, one of the greatest names in this connection is that of Yājñavalkya. Now, he was the husband of two wives ; accepted fees or gifts from princes by debating on *Brahma-vidyā* in their courts. He no doubt adopted the fourth āśrama later, and Śaṅkara makes much capital of it. But Śaṅkara overlooks the fact that Yājñavalkya gave the very discourse in question to his wife while he was still a house holder. And when he visited the court of Janaka (Br., iii. 1), he was accompanied by his pupils ; he was thus a teacher of *Brahma-vidyā* before he had become a *sannyāsin*.

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Āruṇi, another great name in the Upaniṣads, had a son to whom he imparted lessons on *Brahma-vidyā* (Ch., vi. i.). This, as the context shows, must have taken place while Āruṇi was still a *gṛhastha*. In *Kaṭha* i, 1, 11, we find the name of Āruṇi apparently as the father of Naciketa ; and the same story is repeated with some variations in *Mbh*, xiii. 71. Whether it is the identical Āruṇi or not, it is the name of an Upaniṣadic teacher who was not a *sannyāsi* throughout.

In Ch. iv. 10., we are told that Satyakāma Jābāla received pupils and gave instruction to them when he was a *gṛhastha*. And his wife is said to have interceded once on behalf of one of these pupils. Raikva seems to have been a *sannyāsin* from the beginning (Ch. iv. 1 ; cf. also Śaṅkara under Sūtra iii. 4. 36,). But this may have been due to the physical ailments from which Raikva was suffering (Ch. iv. 1. 6.) ; possibly he did not care to marry and establish a home ; his case cannot be regarded as indicating the general practice in this matter. Besides, though credited with a good deal of knowledge, he does not appear to have been a regular teacher either. In ch. v. ii., we are introduced to some enquirers on *Brahma-vidyā* who owned large households ('mahāśāla') ; and ch. vi. 4. 5. speaks of earlier teachers who were highly learned and owned large houses. All this shows that the teachers as a rule were not wanderers.

As a rule, the teaching of *Brahma-vidyā* in Upaniṣadic times, seems to have been in the hands of Brahmins who lived the normal life of a villager, kept a home, received and instructed pupils, performed the various religious rites according to the *śāstras*, attended the royal courts on invitation, specially in connection with big sacrificial performances, and in accordance with the *śāstras*, and adopted in old age the life of a *sannyāsin*. At that stage, they were expected to practise the meditation of *Brahma-vidyā* which they had so long been teaching to their pupils.

In Ch. Up. v. 10., we are told of the virtues of a forest life and a life of asceticism as distinguished from that of a

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village Brahmin following the routine of sacrifices. But the high value assigned to forest life here only refers to the *upāsanā* or worship practised therein ; it does not mean that the teaching and learning of the Upaniṣads were an affair of the forest life. Renunciation of the world at an advanced age is systematically advised both in *Śruti* and *Smṛti* ; and this admonition applied even to the Upaniṣadic teacher. But this does not mean that he *taught* this branch of *Śruti* after renouncing the world. As teachers, they were *gṛhasthas*, not inhabitants of cities but simple village folk.

In the Mahābhārata iii.132, we are introduced to the habitation of Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu, two great Upaniṣadic names. The identity of the men is almost beyond doubt, for, they are spoken of as great Vedāntists. Now, these men kept a home, received pupils and instructed them and lived with their family in a secluded place, which subsequently became almost a holy place or *tīrtha*. The life they lived was certainly a very rigorous one but was not the life of a *sannyāsin*.

Manu vi. 35-37 expressly lays down that one should not adopt the last *āśrama* without going through the previous ones. And in vi. 94, *Manu* further says that Vedānta should be read and studied in the usual course, i.e., along with the other branches of *Śruti* (cf. Kulluka's commentary). In iii. 78., we are told that all the other *āśramas* have to depend on a householder both for food as well as for learning : this implies that a teacher even of the Vedas was a *gṛhastha*. (cf. also iii. 70). And according to vi. 29., the actual practice and meditation on these teachings of the Vedas were to commence in the last *āśrama*.

Though the existing text of *Manu* may have been written in later times, the traditions preserved in it have a much greater antiquity. And the close similarity between *Manu* and the earlier *Smṛtis* (*Gṛhyas*), in this matter, justifies us in concluding that, in Upaniṣadic times, so far as *āśrama* was concerned, the teacher of Vedānta was a *gṛhastha*. And so

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far as his place of residence was concerned, he was a man of the village ; not altogether isolated from the city, but still generally living away from it.

In the list of philosophies given by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*, non-mention of *Brahma-vidyā* as a philosophy is rather striking. It seems to point to the fact that for the politically minded Brahmins, Vedānta was not the philosophy ; it did not thrive in cities among people of the type of Kauṭilya ; it had its home in villages and was cultivated by Brahmins of another type. Kauṭilya's silence does not argue that Vedānta did not exist as a school, as Jacobi seems to think (*Indian Antiquary*, xlvii, p. 106) ; for, whatever the date of the composition of the Sūtras may be, it is undeniable that 'a school of exegesis of the Upaniṣads already existed in early times'.

That the study of Brahma-vidyā was confined, more or less, to Brahmins of a special class seems to be placed beyond doubt by the frequent references in the Upaniṣads and elsewhere to *Brahmavādins* or 'Professors of *Brahma-vidyā*'. (cf. Ch. Up. ii. 24. 1. ; Sv. i. i. ; &c.). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i. 12. 4-5) also, we are told of *Brahmavādins* in addition to Brahmins versed in the Vedas ; and we are further told that they were invited to the king's *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. Similarly, in the *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra* (i. 4, 10 ; iv. 5. 16) we are introduced to a class of specialists bearing the name of *Brahmavādin*. All this shows that all Brahmins were not necessarily adepts in *Brahma-vidyā* ; all did not even look upon it with favour.

(*To be continued*)

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

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Jayamaṅgalā and the other Commentaries on Sāṅkhya-Saptati

An attempt has been made in this paper to find out the author of the Jayamaṅgalā, a commentary on Sāṅkhya-saptati, and his approximate age, in the light of other Jayamaṅgalās and other commentaries on Sāṅkhya-saptati. The commentaries on the following works are called Jayamaṅgalā :

1 Sāṅkhya-saptati of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa,
2 Kāmandaka's Nītisāra,
3 Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, and
4 Bhaṭṭikāvya.

The Jayamaṅgalā[1] is mentioned as the work of Śaṅkarācārya in its colophons. The colophons at the end of the two Mss. on which the edition of the Jayamaṅgalā is based (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 19), read thus :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्येण श्रीशङ्करभगवता कृता सांख्यसप्तितीका समाप्ता—क Ms.

The ख Ms. differs from the above in having ०परिव्राजाचार्ये० instead of ०परिव्राजकाचार्य०.

The name of Śaṅkarācārya, along with that of his preceptor, is, according to Principal Gopinath Kaviraj, the interpolation of a scribe, the commentary being perhaps from the pen of the great Buddhist commentator Śaṅkarārya, who has commented upon Kāmandaka and Vātsyāyana. The reason why Śaṅkarācārya cannot be the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is, according to Principal Kaviraj, the careless slip-shod style of the work which does not correspond to the depth, lucidity,

1 Jayamaṅgalā, without any other joint designation such as सांख्यसप्त-जयमङ्गला or वात्स्यायन-जयमङ्गला will, throughout this paper, stand for the commentary on Sāṅkhyasaptati.

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terseness, learning and clarity which invariably characterise Śaṅkara's writings.

Principal Kaviraj takes Śaṅkarārya to be the author of the Jayamaṅgalā mainly because the title of this work is the same as that of the other two commentaries by Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka and Vātsyāyana, and he bases his argument also on the fact that in the benedictory verse, the two terms मुनिं and लोकोत्तरवादिनं prove the writer to be a Buddhist. The benedictory verses of the different Jayamaṅgalās are as follows :

कामन्दकीये किल नीतिशास्त्रे प्रायेण नास्मिन् सुगमाः पदार्थाः ।
तस्माद् विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां तत्पञ्जिकां सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥ (Kāmandaka).

वात्स्यायनीयं किल कामसूत्रं प्रस्तावितं कैश्चिदिहान्यथैव ।
तस्माद् विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां टीकामहं सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥ (Vātsyāyana).

प्रणिपत्य सकलवेदिनमतिदुस्तरभट्टिकाव्यसलिलनिधेः ।
जयमङ्गलेति नाम्ना नौकेव विरच्यते टीका ॥ (Bhaṭṭikāvya).

Now a comparison of the first two verses clearly shows them to be from one pen. Not only the metre, but the wording also is similar in both cases. The phrase सर्वविदं प्रणम्य is here considered to be an obeisance to Buddha. But let us examine here first the different sense in which the term is used in lexicons and literature. The term सर्वविद् is synonymous with सर्वज्ञ=बुद्ध, and शिव (cf. सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धः and ज्ञानाद्यैश्वर्यसंपन्नः सर्वज्ञः—Amara). Hemacandra too, gives, सर्वज्ञ as one of the names of Śiva. Compare also—

सर्वज्ञनाथ्यप्रियखड्गपर्शवो ....हरः । (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 198).
सर्वज्ञस्तु जिनेन्द्रे स्यात् सुगते शङ्करेऽपि च । (Anekārthasaṃgraha, III, 140).
With the Commentary सर्वज्ञ एव जानाति परोक्षाणां हि कर्मणाम्.....
.....शंकरे देवं प्रणम्य सर्वज्ञं सृष्टिसंहारकारकम् ।

Halāyudha also (1, 11) gives सर्वज्ञ as a name of Śiva. Maṅkhakoṣa (1,55) has शिव-बुद्धौ तु सर्वज्ञौ दोषज्ञा वैद्यवित्खलाः ॥

Brahman, Brahmā, Īśvara, Svayambhū are also called सर्वविद् or सर्वज्ञ :

यः सर्वज्ञः सर्वविद् यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः ।

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तस्मादेतद्ब्रह्म नाम रूपमन्नं च जायते ॥ (Muṇḍ. Up., I, 1, 9).

स विश्वकृद् विश्वविदात्मयोनिर्ज्ञः कालकालो गुणी सर्वविद् यः ।

(Śvet. Up.,VI, 16).

स हि सर्ववित् सर्वकर्ता (Sāṁkhya Sūtra, 3, 56).

सर्वज्ञजनन्तमौडे (Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI, 4, 25).

Also compare Bhāgavata Purāṇa, II, 5, 8; VII, 2, 22. Yoga Sūtra, 1, 25 and Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV. 4, 6.

The benedictory verse of the Bhaṭṭi-Jayamaṅgalā is in Āryā metre, and has also the term सकलवेदिनम, which is equivalent to सर्वज्ञ and which may mean Buddha or Śiva or Jina. At the beginning of the commentary (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) we find two formulæ—दैवं नन्दनन्दनं वन्दे and श्रीं नमः सिद्धम्. While the first is an obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, the second is the Sanskritised form of the Jaina formula श्रीं णमो सिद्धाणम. So, on the basis of the term सकलवेदिनम् can we conclude that the author is a Buddhist or a Jaina? But the evidence of the colophon at the end of the commentary on Bhaṭṭi goes against it. There, the author is described as a resident of Vallabhi, a high-born Brahmin, son of Śrī Svāmin, a great grammarian and known by three names, viz. Jaṭiśvara, Jayadeva and Jayamaṅgala. How can a Brahmin bow to Buddha?

Therefore, the term सर्वविदम् (and also सकलवेदिनम्) cannot in any way prove that the author was a Buddhist.

The two terms, which make us suspect that the author of the Sāṅkhya-Jayamaṅgalā was a Buddhist, are मुनि and लोकोत्तरवादिन्. मुनि is not an exclusive title of Buddha, for, it has been applied to Kapila by Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself (मुनिरासुरयेऽनुकम्पया प्रददौ—Kār. 70). In the Bhagavadgītā also we find सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः. Therefore this term does not help us now. As for the term लोकोत्तरवादी, Kaviraj says that it is the name of a school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. But it is interesting to compare the following verses from the Mahābhārata in this connection. In Śānti Parva, chap. 320, we find Bhīṣma, while explaining what Sāṅkhya is, saying to Yudhiṣṭhira—

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मोक्षे हि त्रिविधा निष्ठा दृष्टान्येर्मोक्षवित्तमैः ।
ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं यच्च सर्वत्यागश्च कर्मणाम् ॥ ३८ ॥
ज्ञाननिष्ठां वदन्त्यन्ये मोक्षशास्त्रविदो जनाः ।
कर्मनिष्ठां तथैवान्ये यतयः सूक्ष्मदर्शिनः ॥ ३९ ॥
प्रहायोभयमप्येवं ज्ञानं कर्म च केवलम् ।
तृतीयेयं समाख्याता निष्ठा तैन महात्मना ॥ ४०

In the light of the above verses, I think we ought to explain the term लोकोत्तरवादिनम् as लोकोत्तरं यत् ज्ञानं तस्य वादिनम् । And it refers to Kapila मुनि who teaches the ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरम्. It is quite impossible that लोकोत्तरवादिनं मुनिं should refer to Buddha. The Lokattaravādins are a school of the Hīnayāna. They are so called, because they believe that Buddha was no human being, but "above the world" (Lokottara), who for a time adapted himself to worldly life. In the Mahāvastu, which is a Hīnayāna work, it is said (I, 159, 2) that the Buddhas have nothing in common with the world, but everything with them is above the world, as for example, they wash their feet though they are not soiled by dust, they take food though they never feel hunger, etc. It is clear that one cannot call Buddha himself लोकोत्तरवादिनं मुनिम्, that (if it did refer to Buddhism at all, which I believe it does not) it could only mean a Buddhist of the Lokottaravāda school of Hīnayāna.

Therefore it is evident that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is not a Buddhist. Here it is essential to compare the Jayamaṅgalā with other commentaries on Sāṁkhya-saptati, before we can establish the identity of our author. A detailed comparison of Māṭharavṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā, Tattvakaumudī, Candrikā and the commentaries of Gauḍapāda and Vijñāna Bhikṣu shows that many explanations and many phrases are common to all. This leaves us in a very great confusion as to the relative chronology of these commentaries. But a careful study throws some light on this point. The question regarding Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda is practically settled. Not only the verbatim agreement between the two, but the fact (as shown below) that Gauḍapāda at several places quotes

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the Māṭharavṛtti wrongly, makes us entirely agree with the following remark of the learned editor of tha Māṭharavṛtti :

यत्तु सांख्यसप्तत्या गौडपादीयं भाष्यं (बनारस-संस्कृतसीरीजाख्यग्रन्थमालायां मुद्रितम्) तत्तु माठरवृत्त्याः केनचित् कृतः संक्षेप इति भाति। न हि परकृतेः संक्षेपकृत्त्वं श्रीशङ्कराचार्यपरमगुरुषु गौडपादेषु सम्भवति। अस्य च उत्तरगीता-व्याख्यायाश्च प्रणेता कश्चिदपरो गौडपादः सम्भाव्यते ॥

These few instances will clearly show what has been said before. Gauḍapāda on Kārikā 27 (p. 130, Wilson's Edn.) says—

अथैतानि इन्द्रियाणि भिन्नार्थग्राहकाणि किमीश्वरेणोत स्वभावेन कृतानि यतः प्रधानबुद्ध्याहङ्कारा अचेतनाः पुरुषोऽप्यकर्त्तेत्यत्राह—इह सांख्यानां स्वभावो नाम कश्चित् कारणमस्ति ॥ and further on अथैतन्नानात्वं नेश्वरेण नाहङ्कारेण न बुद्ध्या न प्रधानेन न पुरुषेण स्वभावात् [1]कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति ॥

Māṭhara on this very point says :

अथैतन्नानात्वं नेश्वरेण न बुद्ध्या नाहङ्कारेण न प्रधानेन न पुरुषेण न स्वभावेन कृतम् गुणपरिणामेनेति। .....एवमिन्द्रियाणां निक्षेपः पुरुषेण वा कृत ईश्वरेण वा स्वभावेनेति। अत्रोच्यते—इह सांख्ये पुरुषेश्वरस्वभावा न कारणम् ॥ [2]

1 I think we ought to read कृतं गुणपरिणामेनेति ॥

2 While Gauḍapāda will have स्वभाव as the cause of plurality, Māṭhara will not accept स्वभाव as a cause. Wilson translates स्वभावात् कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति—"But from the modification of qualities produced by spontaneity". But in order to have this meaning, the phrase ought to have been स्वभावकृतगुणपरिणामेनेति ; or स्वभावात् being outside the compound, cannot be grammatically joined to कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति. Therefore the reading was perhaps न स्वभावात्, कृतं गुणपरिणामेनेति। And moreover इह सांख्यानां स्वभावो नाम कश्चित् कारणमस्ति, seems to be an interpolation, as it disagrees with the remark of Gauḍapāda himself on Kārikā 66ı, where he says :

सर्वकर्तृत्वात् कालस्यापि प्रधानवत् कारणम्। स्वभावोऽप्येवं लीनः।
तस्मात् कालो न कारणम्, नापि स्वभाव इति ॥

Another instance is the following quotation in Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya on Kārikā 61,

अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत् स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा ॥ (Mbh., Vanaparva, 30, 38)

This seems to be wrongly quoted from Māṭhara where it reads :

अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मन: सुखदुःखयोः।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत् स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा ॥

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Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Candrikā is evidently a summary of Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī. Therefore, we are left face to face with Māṭharavṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā and Tattvakaumudī. There is a great deal of uncertainty as to the age of the Māṭharavṛtti. The editor of this work opines that Māṭhara is not a proper name, but a family name, and as Nyāyabhāṣya

A third instance is the line of Gauḍapāda (Kārikā 61)

काल: पचति भूतानि काल: संहरते जगत्,

the correct form of which in Māṭhara is कालः सृजति भूतानि etc.

It will be interesting to say here something about the lost Karikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Tilak in his Gītārahasya (p. 163, Hindi Edn.) says that there must have been a Kārikā after this, which refuted the views of other people. This according to him is based on—

स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः।

देवस्यैष महिमा तु लोके येनेदं भ्राम्यते ब्रह्मचक्रम ॥ (Śvet. Up., VI, 1)

Therefore according to him, the lost Kārikā is—

कारणमीश्वरमेके ब्रुवते कालं परे स्वभावं वा।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥

When Tilak wrote it, Māṭharavṛtti was not published. But now after its publication we have to revise this lost Kārikā. Māṭhara says—

इह सांख्ये पुरुषेश्वरस्वभावा न कारणम।

The Jayamaṅgalā also puts forth these very alternatives of पुरुष, ईश्वर or स्वभाव. Māṭhara, however, adds काल as another possible alternative. To me it seems that this discussion is based not only on the verse of Śvet. Up. but also on the following verse from Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad (Minor Upaniṣads, edited by Schrader, p. 214).

कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम्।

संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावादात्माप्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥

(It will be seen here that even the line of the Mahābhārata, viz., अजो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः is based on the latter half of this verse.). While Śvet. Up. mentions स्वभाव and काल, it ignores पुरुष; and the Nār. Par. Up. mentions पुरुष, but leaves out ईश्वर. If the lost Karikā is to be supplied on the basis of Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya (or now on the basis of Māṭharavṛtti) then it must have the mention of पुरुष also. So the amended reading according to me will be

कारणमीश्वरमेके पुरुषं कालं परे स्वभावं वा।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥

That is, we should read पुरुषं in place of ब्रुवते।

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by Pakṣilasvāmin is commonly called as Vātsyāyanabhāṣya so the Vṛtti by a person belonging to the Māṭhara family is called Māṭharavṛtti. Now who is this Māṭhara ? Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi thinks that Māṭhara was according to I-tsing a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa. But the date of Aśvaghoṣa is uncertain. If we take it to be, say, 1st cent. A. D., then Māṭhara might be safely assigned to that date. This is further borne out by the fact that the Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jainas preserves a list of the Brahmanical works which contains the names of Kanagasattari, Kabiliyam, Saṭṭitantam and Māḍaram. Now if the date of the Anuyogadvārasūtra in its present from be 100 A. D., then Māṭhara can be safely put in the 1st century A. D. The editor of Māṭharavṛtti (Chowkhamba Series) remarks that "according to eastern as well western scholars, this Māṭharavṛtti along with the text of the Kārikā was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between 557 and 569 A.D. Tilak, however, differs from this view (Sanskrit Research, p. 108). Therefore, this Vṛtti cannot be posterior to 394 A.D.".[1] He remarks—"In the Vṛtti on the 39th Kārikā, we find यथा दर्पणाभाव आभासहानौ, a quotation from Hastāmalakastotra, which is contemporaneous with the first Śaṅkarācārya. Therefore, this and such other instances as अहंकारो धियं व्रते etc., which favour Advaita philosophy, must be regarded as interpolations, according to the scholars who stand for the antiquity of the Vṛtti."

So, there are two conflicting opinions as to the age of Māṭhara, one placing him in the first century and the other in the eighth century A.D. But more light is needed to solve this problem, before anything can be said definitely.

The agreement of Jayamaṅgalā with Māṭharavṛtti at several places may be the result either of Jayamaṅgalā

1 But Keith in his 'Sāṅkhya System', p. 70, fn., says that S. K. Belvalkar (Bhandarkar Comm. Vol., pp. 171, ff.) argues that the original of the Chinese version was the Māṭharavṛtti, which he is editing ; but this cannot be proved because derivation from a common source is still equally probable.

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borrowing some ideas from Māṭhara or vice versa. A detailed study of Jayamaṅgalā shows that the author is quite expert in Pāṇini's Grammar and quotes sūtras in support of his derivations, e. g., Kārikā 12 :

अन्योऽन्यजननाः। जनयन्तीति जनना:, 'ल्युट्यटो बहुलम्' इति कर्तरि ल्युट्। अनेकार्थत्वात् धातूनां बोधनार्था द्रष्टव्याः। अन्योऽन्यस्य प्रबोधका इत्यर्थः।—p. 17, ll. 5-7.

तस्य दुःखत्रयस्यावघातकस्तदवघातकः। तृजकाभ्यां षष्ठीसमासप्रतिषेधः, 'तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च' इति न भवति।—p. 2, ll. 4-5

Although Vācaspatimiśra indulges in grammatical explanations, yet not so often as the Jayamaṅgalā. Again the author has quoted from Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra. He calls it Sāṅkhyapravacana. The following quotation may be compared :

यद्योक्तं सांख्यप्रवचने 'अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः' शौचसन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः इति। तत्र सन्तोषः संनिहितसाधनाभ्यादधिकस्यानुपादित्सा। तपो जिघत्सापिपासाशीतोष्णसाधनजयः काष्ठमौनाकारमौने, व्रतानि च कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादीनि। स्वाध्याय मोक्षशास्त्राध्ययनं प्रणवजपो वा। ईश्वरप्रणिधानं विशिष्टदेवताराधनम्।—Jayamaṅgalā, p. 31, ll. 7 ff.

शौचसन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः। तत्र शौचं मृज्जलादिजनितं मेध्याभ्यवहरणादि च बाह्यम्। आभ्यन्तरं चित्तमलानामाक्षालनम्। सन्तोषः संविहितसाधनादधिकस्यानुपादित्सा। तपो द्वन्द्वसहनम्। द्वन्द्वं च जिघत्सापिपासे शीतोष्णे स्थानासने काष्ठमौनाकारमौने च। व्रतानि चैषां यथायोगं कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणसान्तपनादीनि। स्वाध्यायो मोक्षशास्त्राणामध्ययनं प्रणवजपो वा। ईश्वरप्रणिधानं तस्मिन् परमगुरौ सर्वकर्मार्पणम्। Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra, II. 32.

The comparison shows that Jayamaṅgalā has rather adapted the Vyāsabhāṣya than quoted it verbatim.

Although Māṭhara too quotes the Yogasūtras, he never quotes the Vyāsabhāṣya. Again,

'पञ्च विपर्ययभेदा' इत्यादि। अज्ञानाख्यस्य सर्गस्य भेदाः पञ्च। तमो मोहो महामोहस्तामिस्रोऽन्धतामिस्रश्चेति। एत एव सांख्यप्रवचने क्लेशा उच्यन्ते। 'अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः' इति। तत्राविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषाम्।—जय०, p. 50, ll. 9 ff.

May be compared with

अथ के क्लेशाः कियन्तो वेति। अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः। क्लेशा इति पञ्च विपर्यया इत्यर्थः।—व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र, II. 3.

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With the following also may be compared :

अविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषां प्रसुप्ततनुविच्छिन्नोदाराणाम् ।—योगसूत्र, II. 4.

तम इत्यविद्योच्यते । सा चोत्तरेषां प्रसवभूमिः ।—जय०, p. 51, l. 1.

अविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषां प्रसवभूमिः ।—व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र, II. 4.

सुखानुशयी रागो महामोह इत्युच्यते (Joya., p. 51, l. 8) and दुःखानुशयी द्वेषस्तामिस्र इत्युच्यते (ibid., l. 12) seem to be incorrect reading for सुखानुशयी रागः and दुःखानुशयी द्वेषः in the Yogasūtra (II. 7 and 8). मरणत्रासोऽन्धतामिस्रः (जय० p. 51, l. 17) is also taken from मरणत्रास उच्छेददृष्ट्यात्मकः etc. of व्यासभाष्य on II. 9.

तथा चाहुः—गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति ।

यत्तु दृष्टिपथं यातं तन्मायेव सु- तुच्छकम् । इति

(जय० p. 63, ll. 3 and 4) is found also in व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र (IV. 13.)[1]

This shows the fondness of our author for Vyāsabhāṣya.

It seems that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā had some commentary of Saṅkhyakārikā before him. Compare—अस्मिन् व्याख्याने 'कार्यवशादुपलब्धेर्महदादि तच्च कार्यम्' इत्यनेनैव सिद्धत्वादन्यैरन्यथा व्याख्यायते । यदुपकरोति तत्कारणम् etc. (जय०, p. 21, ll. 1 ff., 21, 22) ; and अन्यस्त्वाह—'अविभागे वैश्वरूप्यस्य'—(p. 22, ll. 11ff).

Now these alternative explanations given here are untraceable. We do not find them in Māṭhara or Vācaspati. And not only the explanation, but also the reading अविभागे for अविभागात् is untraceable. This alone does not prove anything as to the priority of the one to the other but on the whole it appears that the author of the Jaymaṅgalā had not the Māṭharavṛtti before him. There is a very striking passage in Māṭhara—यथा कस्यचिद्वैराग्यमस्ति । (जितेन्द्रियो विषयेभ्यो विरक्तो न यम नियमपरः केवलम्)[2]—माठरवृत्ति on Kār. 45.

Compare it with जयमङ्गला—'वैराग्यात्' इत्यादि । यो विषयादिदर्शनादिरक्तो यमनियमपरिक्षितो न ज्ञानं पर्यवते etc.

1 In तत्त्ववैशारदी, Vācaspati attributes this quotation to षष्टितन्त्र. In भामती, on ब्रह्मसूत्र, II. 13., Vācaspati quotes it and attributes it वार्षगण्य.

2 I do not know why the editor has put this sentence in a parenthesis.

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Does it not look as if Māṭhara were criticising the view of Jayamaṅgalā ? While there is no line or passage in Jayamaṅgalā which might show that the author is cognisant of a Maṭharavṛtti, the line quoted above clearly shows that he had made use of the Jayamaṅgalā. Therefore, the verbal agreement between them rather tends to prove the priority of the Jayamaṅgalā to the Māṭharavṛtti. There is another fact which points to this conclusion. According to the Jayamaṅgalā the reading of the text of Kārikā 26 ought to be : बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि चक्षुःश्रोत्रत्वग्रसनानासिकाख्यानि (The reading in the text is based on Dr. Jha's edition). On this reading Jayamaṅgalā notes शब्दवशादत्राक्रमः कृतः। क्रमस्तु श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुरिति।

Māṭhara reads in the text of the Kārikā श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षूरसनानासिकाख्यानि. Although it might be said here that the reading in the text might not be that of the commentator himself, for it is not quoted as प्रतीक in the Vṛtti, yet the explanation श्रोत्रादीति बुद्धीन्द्रियाणीति उच्यन्ते। शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धान् बुध्यन्त इति बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि, leaves no doubt as to the order of the text. Can we not say, in view of the fact that this reading is not found in any of the editions or mss., that it is adopted by Māṭhara after reading the note on क्रम in the Jayamaṅgalā ?

There is another very vital question. Who is this Śaṅkarācārya, the author of the Jayamaṅgalā ? Is he the great first Ācārya of that name or some one else ? It has been said by Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj in his introduction to the Jayamaṅgalā, that its style does not correspond to "the depth, lucidity, terseness, learning and clarity which invariably characterise Śaṅkara's diction". Let us examine the following quotation from the Jayamaṅgalā on Karika 17 :

तत्र सिद्धे पुंसि विवादाः। एक एवायं पुरुषः सर्वशरीरेषु स्थित इत्येके। सर्वे काया उपनतानेकात्मनः सात्मकत्वात् योगिशरीरवद्वत् प्रतिशरीरमनेकपुरुष इत्यपरे। एक एवायं पुराणः पुरुषः, तस्मादग्नेरिव विष्फुलिङ्गाः प्रतिशरीरं पुरुषा आविर्भूता इति वेदान्तवादिनः।

Further on we find in the जय० on Kār. 18—

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'पुरा॰पुरुषादग्नेरिव विष्फुलिङ्गाः प्रतिशरीरं पुरुषाः' इत्यस्मिन्नपि दर्शने पुरुषबहुत्वमस्त्येव। तेषां परस्परविलक्षणत्वात् ते पुरा॰पुरुषादभिन्ना भिन्ना वेति दर्शनद्वयम्। तदन्यत्र विचारितत्वादिह ग्रन्थगौरवभयात् नोपन्यस्तमस्माभिरिति।

Compare with it मुण्डकोपनिषद्, II. 1:

तदेतत् सत्यम् - यथा सुदीप्तात् पावकात् विष्फुलिङ्गाः सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः।
तथाक्षरा द्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यान्ति।

Os this शङ्करभाष्य is as follows—

यथा सुदीप्तात् सुष्ठु दीप्तात् अग्नेर्विष्फुलिङ्गा अग्नावयवाः सहस्रशोऽनेकशः प्रभवन्ते निर्गच्छन्ति सरूपा अग्निसलक्षणा एव, तथोक्तलक्षणादक्षरादविविधाः नानादेहोपाधिभेदम् अनुविधीयमानत्वात् विविधाः हे सोम्य भावा जीवा आकाशादिवत् घटादिपरिच्छिन्नाः सुषिरभेदा घटाद्युपाधिभेदमनुभवन्ति।

This clearly shows that the Jayamaṅgalā refers to this portion of Śaṅkara's bhāṣya by the term वेदान्तवादिनः. Therefore, this Śaṅkarācārya of Jayamaṅgalā is not only different from the great Ācārya, but is later than him.

Now, when we compare Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī with the Jayamaṅgalā, we find innumerable instances where both agree. A few instances are given here :

यथान्धकारे विद्युत्सम्पाते कृष्णसर्पसन्दर्शने युगपदालोचनाध्यवसायाभिमानसङ्कल्पनानि भवन्ति। (जय॰, p. 37, ll. 4, 5).

यदा सन्तमसान्धकारे विद्युत्सम्पातमानाद् व्याघ्रमभिमुखमतिसंनिहितं पश्यति तदा खल्वस्यालोचनसङ्कल्पाभिमानाध्यवसायाः युगपदेव प्रादुर्भवन्ति। (तत्त्वकौमुदी, Kār. 30)

प्रसवो धर्मोऽस्यास्तीति प्रसवधर्मि। (जय॰, p. 14, l. 20.).

प्रसवरूपो धर्मो यः सोऽस्यास्तीति प्रसवधर्मि। (तत्त्व॰, Kār. 11).

प्रधानेनादिसर्गे प्रतिपुरुषमुत्पादितत्वात्। (जय॰, Kār. 40).

प्रधानेनादिसर्गे प्रतिपुरुषमेकैकमुत्पादितम्। (तत्त्व, Kār. 40).

शब्दतन्मात्रादाकाशमेकगुणम्। शब्दतन्मात्रप्रतिसंहितात् स्पर्शतन्मात्रात् द्विगुणो वायुः। ताभ्यां प्रतिसंहिताद्रूपतन्मात्रात् त्रिगुणं तेजः। तैः प्रतिसंहितात् रसतन्मात्रात् चतुर्गुणा आपः। चतुर्भिः प्रतिसंहितात् गन्धतन्मात्रात् पञ्चगुणा पृथिवीति। (जय॰, Kār. 22).

तत्र शब्दतन्मात्रादाकाशं शब्दगुणम्। शब्दतन्मात्रसहितात् स्पर्शतन्मात्रात् वायुः शब्दस्पर्शगुणः, शब्दस्पर्शतन्मात्रसहितात् रूपतन्मात्रात् तैजः शब्दस्पर्शरूपगुणम्, शब्दस्पर्शरूपतन्मात्रसहितात् रसतन्मात्रादापः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगुणाः, शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसतन्मात्रसहितात् गन्धतन्मात्रात् शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धगुणा पृथिवी जायत इत्यर्थः। (तत्त्वकौमुदी॰, Kār. 22).

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एकत्वमर्थवत्त्वं पारार्थ्यं चेति प्रधानमधिकृत्योक्तम्। अन्यत्वमकर्तृत्वं बहुत्वं चेति पुरुषमधिकृत्य। अस्तित्वं योगो वियोगश्चेति उभयमधिकृत्य। स्थितिर्मूलसूक्ष्ममधिकृत्य। (जय०, Kār. 51).

एकत्वमर्थवत्त्वं पारार्थ्यं च प्रधानमधिकृत्योक्तम्। अन्यत्वमकर्तृत्वं बहुत्वं चेति पुरुषमधिकृत्य। अस्तित्वं वियोगो योगश्चेत्युभयमधिकृत्य। वृत्तिः स्थितिरिति स्थूलसूक्ष्ममधिकृत्य। (तत्त्व०, Kār. 72).

The agreement at several places is so striking that we are obliged to conclude that one of the two has used or seen the commentary of the other. But who is earlier and who is later? At the first instance one is disinclined to believe that Vācaspati could borrow or utilize the Jayamaṅgalā. Several scholars are of opinion that the Jayamaṅgalā must have used Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī. The comparison made above is not sufficiently decisive. So we have to find out some other deciding factor. The following instance in our opinion gives this deciding factor: **वाचस्पति** in his **तत्त्वकौमुदी** on Kār. 51, says—

अन्ये व्याचक्षते—"विनोपदेशादिना प्राग्भवीयाभ्यासवशात्तत्त्वस्य स्वयमूहनं यत् सा सिद्धिरूहः। यस्य सांख्यशास्त्रपाठमन्तरेणाकर्ण्य तत्त्वज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा सिद्धिः शब्दः, शब्दपाठादनन्तरं भावात्। यस्य शिष्याचार्यसम्बन्धेन सांख्यशास्त्रं ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्चाधीत्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते साऽध्ययनहेतुका सिद्धिरध्ययनम्। सुहृत्प्राप्तिरिति यस्याधिगततत्त्वं सुहृदं प्राप्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा ज्ञानलक्षणा सिद्धिरस्य सुहृत्प्राप्तिः। दानं च सिद्धिहेतुः, धनादिदानेनाराधितो ज्ञानी ज्ञानं प्रयच्छति"।

अस्य च युक्तायुक्तत्वे सूरिभिरेवावगन्तव्ये इति कृतं परदोषोद्भावनेन नः सिद्धान्तमात्रव्याख्यानप्रवृत्तानामिति।

Here, the criticisms by Vācaspati presupposes a commentary. In Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda, we do not find any thing corresponding to it. But compare it with the Jayamaṅgalā.

ऊह इति। जन्मान्तरसंस्कृतधियो यस्य बन्धमोक्षकारणमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य प्रधानपुरुषान्तरज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तस्य सिद्धिरूहहेतुका प्रथमा तारमित्युच्यते। यस्य सांख्यशास्त्रपाठमन्तरेणाकर्ण्य तत्त्वज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा सिद्धिः शब्दहेतुका द्वितीया सुतारमित्युच्यते। यस्य शिष्याचार्यसम्बन्धेन सांख्यशास्त्रं शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चाधीत्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तस्याध्ययनहेतुका। अध्य-

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यनेन हि तत्परिज्ञानात्। एषा द्वतीया तारवि (?) इत्युच्यते।.....सुहृत्प्राप्तिः इति। योऽधिगततत्त्वं सुहृदं प्राप्य ज्ञानमधिगच्छति, तस्य सुहृत्प्राप्तिपूर्विका.....। दानं च सिद्धिहेतुः। दानेन ह्याराधितो ज्ञानी ज्ञानं प्रयच्छति।

The comparison will show that while the passages underlined are exactly identical, the remaining portion is also the same in trend. It is clear that Vācaspati is here criticising the Jayamaṅgalā.

The following quotation from Vijñānabhikṣu also agrees with Vācaspatimiśra in sense, but it proves nothing :

ऊहो यथा। उपदेशं विनैव प्राग्भवीयाभ्यासवशात् तत्त्वस्य स्वयमूहनमिति। शब्दस्तु यथा। अन्यदीयपाठमाकर्ण्य स्वयं वा शास्त्रमाकलय्य यज्ज्ञानं जायते तदिति। अध्ययनं यथा। शिष्याचार्यभावेन शास्त्राध्ययनात् ज्ञानमिति। सुहृत्प्राप्तिर्यथा। स्वयमुपदेशार्थं गृहागतात् परमकारुणिकात् ज्ञानलाभ इति। दानं च यथा। धनादिदानेन परितोषितात् ज्ञानलाभ इति।—Vijñānabhikṣu on सांख्यसूत्र, III, 44.

It is quite clear that Vijñānabhikṣu, who is much later than Vācaspati, and who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D., cannot be the target of Vācaspati's attack. Moreover, the agreement between Vijñānabhikṣu and Vācaspati is not so striking as between Vācaspati and the Jayamaṅgalā. Therefore, in conclusion it may be safely asserted that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is earlier than Vācaspati and later than the great Śaṅkarācārya. According to Macdonell (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 393) Vācaspati's time is about 1100 A.D.[1] And the great Ādi Śaṅkara cannot be placed later than the eighth century A.D. Therefore our Jayamaṅgalā-Śaṅkarācārya must have flourished about 1000 A.D. In this conclusion, I am fully supported by Mr. Ram Krishna Kavi, who writing on the Jayamaṅgalās in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, October, 1927, says : "All these Jayamaṅgalās are

1 But according to Keith, the time of Vācaspati Miśra is ninth century A.D. See J.R.A.S., 1914, 1098.

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extensively read and found in Malabar. To relieve the anxiety of some critics that the great Ācārya should not be associated with the authorship of these commentaries under the same name, we have to search for another Śaṅkarācārya in Malabar who, besides being an author, must be a pupil of Govindabhagavatpāda. We shall try to find one to answer our purpose.

In the commentary on Vātsyāyana, one of the quotations (रक्तजाः क्षमयः सूक्ष्माः.....यथाबलम्—कामसूत्र II. 1.) is traced to Ratirahasya of Kokkoka who belongs to the tenth century and in my opinion is later than Sāṅkhyabhikṣu, the author of Nāgarasarvasva. Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana may therefore be assigned to some period later than 1000 A.D."

Further on, according to Mr. Kavi, two more works of Śaṅkarācārya, a pupil of Govindabhagavatpāda, are found. One is a commentary called Yogabhāṣya-vivaraṇa on Vyāsa-bhāṣya and the other called Bhāṣyapradīpa, a commentary on Śābarabhāṣya. In one of the colophons of the latter, the scribe has written पय्युरभगत्पादविरचितम्. The Ms. once belonged to a well-known Payyur Patteri of Malabar who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D. or even later. To this Payyur family belonged a great scholar called Parameśvara who wrote commentaries on several works and who is the son of the Ṛṣi and the pupil of Śaṅkarācārya. cf. इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दन-श्रीमद्भवदासपिदृब्यश्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ खदिरं करणां तृतीयः श्लोकः।

This shows that Śaṅkara must have been one of Parameśvara's relatives and his tutor. For, in a work called Śivodaya, the author Vāsudeva, one of the eight brothers of Parameśvara, describes his family and mentions Śaṅkara as one of his uncles.

"Thus Bhāṣyapradīpa and Yogabhāṣyavivaraṇa are decidedly the compositions of one and the same Śaṅkarācārya, who, as said by Vāsudeva, was the pupil of Govindabhaga-

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vatpāda. We are inclined to think that all the Jayamaṅgalās must have been the production of this Śaṅkara."[1]

The Jayamaṅgalā on Sāṅkhyasaptati, therefore, is earlier than Vācaspati, and if the existing Māṭharavṛtti is not the genuine one (as there are reasons to suspect) then Jayamaṅgalā may be safely placed earlier than even the Māṭharavṛtti.

HARADATTA SARMA

1 In the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, January, 1928, p. 94, it is mentioned by the Editor that "Mr. Kavi says that all these authors are identical and that this Śaṅkara lived about 1400 A.D."

This is a mistake. Mr. Kavi mentions that the "Ms. belonged to the well-known Payyur Patteri who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D." So that, 1400 A.D. can be the date of the possessor of the Ms. and not that of the author. Therefore, this Śaṅkarācārya cannot be placed later than 1000 A.D., or near about.

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Iron and Steel in the Ṛgvedic Age

The hymn (X-72-2) in the Ṛgveda stands thus,—जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः पर्णैभिः शकुनानां कर्मारः अश्मभिः दृभिः हिरण्यवन्तमिच्छति. Dr. Schraeder translates :

"The smith with brushwood on the hearth, and in his hand a goose's wing, with anvil and a blazing fire awaits a wealthy customer," and states that it is "the oldest passage on Indo-germanic ground which introduces us into a smithy."[1]

Ordinarily the meaning of the Ṛk, as rendered by various commentators, is "with dried faggots of trees as fuel and fans of wings of birds, and clear and bright stones, the *Karmāra* or the smith (engaged in making arrows) desires a rich person (to buy them)." But the Ṛk may be more literally translated thus—जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः with dried medicinal plants, पर्णैभिः शकुनानां with the wings of birds, कर्मारः the smith, अश्मभिः दृभिः with bright stones, हिरण्यवन्तमिच्छति desires rich persons, that is, *"with dried medicinal plants and wings of birds, as also bright stones, the smith awaits wealthy men."*

In the first place, we see that the smith (*karmāra*) of the Ṛgveda had to do something *with dried medicinal plants.* But what would probably these medicinal plants be required for by the Ṛgvedic smith, and what would be the nature of such medicinal plants one can hardly explain. It would be really difficult, however, to get the true meaning of this passage of the Ṛgveda elsewhere, except from the literature existent on the manufacture of 'wootz'[2] or Indian steel, where

1 Schraeder, Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 162.

2 "*Woots* or Ootz is probably the name of steel in the Gujarāṭi language in use at Bombay, from which place the first specimens of Indian steel were sent to England under that name." David Mushet, Papers on Indian Iron and Steel, p. 666.

Roscoe writes: "Lastly *woots* or Indian steel must be mentioned.

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we often meet with the use of such medicinal plants in the process. From such sources, however, we learn that "the wood which is selected to furnish carbon to the iron, is the *cassia auriculata*,[1] and the leaf used to cover the iron and wood is that of the *asclepias giganta*[2] or where it is not available, that of the *convolvulus laurifolus*."[3]

The same authority observes again—"It seems probable that the selection of particular kinds of vegetable matter

This is a product prepared by heating malleable iron in small clay crucibles, in which small pieces of the wood *Cassia Auriculata* are also placed, until the external portions begin to fuse. The product is then hammered frequently and the steel thus consist of a mixture of two irons, one being rich and the other poor in carbon. Indian wootz is extremely hard and elastic, and was highly prized by the ancients. A specimen of wootz was sent from Bombay to the President of the Royal Society, and the first description of the substance was given by Dr. Pearson in 1795 (Phil. Trans. 1795, part II, 322) and the steel was afterwards analysed by Faraday and Henry."—Roscoe, Chemistry, vol. II, Metal, p. 988.

1 "A tall shrub (Tarwar in Hindi ; Mayahari Tālapatra in Sans.), with virgate branches and underside of the leaves finely grey downy. It is said in Spon's Encyclopædia to yield a medicinal resin...In Bengal a brownish sap hardens on the surface of wounds on the bark ; this may be the so-called resin."—Watt, Dictionary of Economic Products of India, vol. II, p. 205.

"The seeds are valued as local application in purulent ophthalmia, an infusion of the leaves is esteemed as a cooling medicine.....The root is spoken of as of great value in tempering iron metal."—Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 289.

"I have been informed by my friend Dr. Sherwood that the native Doctors are in the habit of prescribing this medicine in diabetic cases." —Ainslie, Mat. Medica, vol. II. *From all these it is very clear that the plant is a medicinal one.*

2 'Ākanda' in Hindi ; 'Arka' in Sans. (It is a well known medicinal plant).

3 From a letter addressed to The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by J. M. Heath in 1837.

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to afford carbon to the iron may not be altogether a matter of fancy. The Indian steel maker, of course, knows nothing of the theory of his operations. He is satisfied with knowing that he can convert iron into steel by fusing it with what he calls medicine,[1] and this medicine, as experience has taught him, must be dried wood and green leaves, and as different woods and leaves very probably contain carburetted hydrogen in very different proportions, experience may have taught him that he can make iron pass into the state of steel more quickly and with a smaller bulk of particular kinds of vegetable matter than with others. The *cassia auriculata* is the only wood I have ever seen used for the purpose. It contains a large quantity of the extract called *catechu*. The leaf of the *convolvulus* is no less remarkable."

1 The operation receives a scientific explanation in the hand of a well known iron expert of modern times.—"On elevating the temperature.....an abundant evolution of carburetted hydrogen gas would take place from the vegetable matter, and as its escape would be prevented.....it would be retained in contact with the iron, which at a high temperature.....have a much greater affinity for gaseous than for concrete carbon. This would greatly shorten the operation and probably at a much lower temperature than were the iron in contact with charcoal powder. In no other way can I account for the fact that iron is converted into cast steel by the natives of India, in two hours and a half, with an application of heat that in this country would be considered quite inadequate to produce such an effect; while at Sheffield it requires at least four hours to melt blistered steel in wind furnaces of the best construction, although the crucibles in which the steel is melted, are at a white heat when the metal is put into them, and in the Indian process, the crucibles are put into the furnace quite cold."—On Indian Iron and Steel, in a letter addressed to the Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by J. M. Heath, Nov. 1837.

"The fact of the superior reductive process of uncharred fuel, mentioned by Mr. Heath and known to the unlettered Indian by the experience of ages, has not escaped notice in my investigations" (vide. Phil. Mag., vols. xxxii, xxxiii).—Mushet, Iron and Steel, vol. I, pp. 6-12.

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The above is quite significant, and since the simplicity of the process of steel making in India even up to the present day gives a clear proof of its being carried on traditionally from the remotest antiquity, the explanation of the Ṛg-vedic passage जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः *"with dried medicinal plants"* means some sort of medicinal plant like *'cassia auriculata'* etc. used in the manufacture of 'wootz.'

From the above elucidation of the passage, it is quite clear that जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः means *"with dried medicinal plants."*

Let us next turn to find out the explanation of पर्णेभि शकुनानां. It plainly signifies—*"with the wings of birds"* or as Schraeder renders *"goose's wings."* But why the smith required them is a very difficult question to solve.

Sāyaṇa understands by जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः the wings of the arrow-shaft.[1] But this meaning seems to be very doubtful. Most of the modern scholars support the view that the Ṛg-vedic smith required them for bellows or fans. But the bellows could never be made of wings of birds. Science does not accept the idea at all. A bellow is generally made of leather, otherwise it cannot be air-tight. On the other hand, the preparation of fans is not particularly tenable. For in the process of iron smelting ordinary fans would be useless. Again the use of the expression *'karmāra'* in the Ṛk involves the idea of *ayas* or iron smelting by *bellowing through bellows* (*dhamati*) and producing the sound of bellowing.[2]

1 Then the smith becomes an arrow maker. This is what is hardly seen in India. The smith prepared the head of the arrow while the rest must have been finished by a distinct guild of arrow-makers (*Iṣu-kṛt, vāṇa-kara*-vide Ṛv., I, 184, 3; 30, 7. Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxvi, 46; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 4, 3, 1. Cf. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 300; Weber, Indische Studien, 18, 29, 286; Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 13, 275, et seq. 25, 337). "A regular profession of arrow making existed"—Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index.

2 Vide "On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India."—The Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. III, no. 4, pp. 795-800.

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The smith, therefore, of the Vedic age was acquainted with the making of bellows which he certainly could not prepare with the wings of birds. As the term *'karmāra'* itself involves the conception of fire, hammering and working with bellows, we have very little to trouble about these things in the text. All the accessories of a smith's shop in the Ṛg-vedic age could be easily understood from the expression *'karmāra'* identified with his work धम, to blow. That is, he used to work with fire by blowing air through the bellows (making a peculiar sound), as also striking with his hammer (from धम—वधकर्म्म striking) on the anvil.[1]

Now the tools and accessories of the Ṛg-vedic master smith, viz., anvil, hammer, bellows, etc. being understood, the proper explanation of the expression पर्षभिः शकुनानां in the Ṛk in question may be rendered by taking it to mean something which the smith used for the manufacture of his steel.

Again from the particulars of 'wootz'-making quoted above we find that dried medicinal plants (जरविभिः ओषधिभिः) were used for the making of steel. These supplied no doubt the requisite carbon to the iron for converting it into steel. Similarly we know from the analysis of goose's wings[2] that owing to the small percentage of carbon they contain they might have been used by the Ṛg-vedic smith for the proper and final carburisation of iron for its conversion into steel.

Such an interpretation will make the Ṛg-vedic process of manufacture more easily understood even in the light of modern steel making.[3]

1 Vide p. 435, fn. 2.

2 "Goose-feathers—volatile matter—90, charcoal 10."—Mushet, "On Indian Iron and Steel," p. 730.

3 Vide Bessemer's process of manufacturing steel. Roscoe writes: "Other difficulties arose,.....a mass of pasty wrought-iron being produced. This was overcome by the important suggestion made by Mushet (Patent, Sep. 22, 1856) of the addition of *spiegel* at the end of the operation in such quantity as is necessary for the conversion of the

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The next expression which we have to expound is द्रभिः अश्मभिः। Literally it means 'bright stones'. But what these stones were is a question that presents some difficulty. Sāyaṇa does not explain them clearly. Most of the modern scholars are inclined to believe that they were *'whetting stones.'* But this is hardly adequate. The plurality of the form with the single individual *'karmāra'* goes against this view.

The extremely economical and simple method of manufacture with which the Ṛg-vedic smith was acquainted is plainly against such a conception.'[1] Further the question as to why the whetting stones should be *'bright'* throws considerable doubt over the interpretation.[2]

The Vedic smith may require a bundle of dried medicinal plants, and a lot of goose's or birds' wings but why he should have a number of whetting stones and again why they should be 'bright' cannot be accounted for. Hence the rendering "bright whetting stones" is faulty and unacceptable.

We may, however, keeping the literal idea of द्रभिः अश्मभिः as *'clean bright stones,'* render their proper meaning as clean or bright stones of *ore.* For, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] we have it clearly stated that *'ayas'* was obtained by

whole of the wrought-iron into steel."—Roscoe, Chemistry, vol. II, Metals, p. 975.

"*Spiegel*—contains carbon from 3·5-6 per cent."—Ibid., p. 960.

N. B. As Mushet was then the most conversant with the operations of Indian steel-making, this very valuable suggestion he might have been able to render to the art from his Indian experience. His own observation on the point viz. "known to the unlettered Indian by the experience of ages" is quite indicative of the value he attached to the process.

1 One could hardly see more than a single *whetting stone* in an Indian smithy and that too he would say had come to him from his forefathers.

2 The 'whetting stone' of an Indian smithy is a very hard Silicate stone without any lustre.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi, 1, 3, 5. Also Macdonell & Keith, Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 405.

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smelting the ore (अश्मन्). So अश्मभिः here may be easily taken to mean bright '*stone ore*' or simply bright stones from which the '*karmāra*' used to obtain his metal. Tradition also supports this rendering, inasmuch as, we have evidences of the 'wootz' (steel) manufactured in India from the bright quartzian stony ore.[1]

Now the last point of difficulty in the Ṛk which requires a reasonable solution is about हिरण्यवन्त'-इच्छति, i.e., "desires rich persons" or "awaits rich people." Why the Vedic smith should await wealthy buyers for his things is not clearly understood. Sāyaṇa satisfies himself by explaining that the '*karmāra*' used to manufacture arrows and as those articles were purchased in ancient times by rich men only, he could do nothing but await them. This rendering of the terms has been accepted by all the Vedic commentators. The foreign Vedic scholars also have followed suit. But still the meaning is not clear. Tradition, however, enlightens us somewhat on the point, and we may quote here from a learned authority[2] the following in

1 "The ore from which the Wootz steel is made is the magnetic oxide of iron, combined with *quartz*, of which specimens accompany this letter. The ore varies much in its appearance, according as the grains of quartz and oxide of iron are large and small; but the proportion in which the component parts unite is nearly uniformly 48 of quartz and 5.2 of oxide of iron in 100 parts by weight."—From a letter addressed to the Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by J. M. Heath., Nov., 1837.

N. B. From the above it is clear that it is no wonder if the ore is seen as bright and fine stones owing to the presence of nearly 50 % of quartzs. Again that the Wootz or Indian steel used to be obtained direct from the ore we have the following evidences in proof of same: "We may, without risk, conclude that it (Wootz) is made directly from the ore."—Dr. Pearson. *Phil. Trans. Royal Society*, vol. 85, 1795, p. 343.

"That the Wootz of India, in the state in which we receive it, is the immediate product of the ore seems to be undoubted."—Stoddart, Treatise on Metals, vol. I, p. 223.

2 Mushet, "On Indian Iron and Steel," p. 366.

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our support:—"The first correct idea we received from history of the importance of steel in the arts is from the account of the present made by Porus to Alexander of 40 lbs of Indian steel, a present which we are bound to consider was the most valuable that Porus could bestow, and the most acceptable that Alexander (at that time overwhelmed with the spoils of the East) could receive. This transaction on the banks of the Hydaspes must have taken place at least 800 years after iron was in use in Palestine, and affords a strong presumption that steel, if not then altogether unknown to the artificers in Alexander's army, was an article exceedingly rare. The same observation will equally apply to India at the same time. *Nothing in the estimation of Porus in his extensive dominions was more valuable than a gift of steel.*"

The above is plainly suggestive as to why the Ṛg-vedic '*karmāra*' would await rich people for buying his article, as in that far remote period of antiquity, it is no wonder that the material (steel) should be highly valued by the ancient people. All the data given above lead us, therefore, to believe that the Ṛg-vedic smith was actually engaged in making *steel* direct from the ore.[1]

In fact, the arguments here advanced in support of our interpretation of the Ṛk under question, afford a most valuable material in proof of the existence of iron in the Ṛg-vedic

1 Cf. "The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity ; we can hardly doubt that the tools with which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel. There is no evidence to show that any of the nations of antiquity besides the Hindus were acquainted with the art of making steel."—Mushet, "Papers on Indian Iron and Steel." p. 669.

"It appears then that the claim of India to a discovery of Iron- and Steel-making which has exercised more influence on the arts conducive to civilization and manufacturing industry than any other within the whole range of human inventions is altogether unquestionable."—J. M. Heath, "Letter to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," Nov., 1837.

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times, inasmuch as this is the only passage in the whole of the Ṛg-veda that gives a description of the process of manufacturing *steel* in that oldest period of antiquity and this method of manufacture when compared with that followed in India even up to the beginning of the last century fully gives evidence of the preservation and continuity of the art as handed down from generation to generation by traditional methods from ages long gone by.

Thus from the Ṛk elucidated above we can describe how the Ṛg-vedic smith used to manufacture steel in those times. He used to manufacture direct from the ore (most probably bright quartzian magnetic stones of iron oxide), in an open hearth (made of mud), adjusted with bellows and fire, and covered over with dried *medicinal plants* such as *Cassia Auriculata*; the whole was then heated until the product began to fuse when *birds' wings* were added for the proper and final carburisation of the mass which, at the end of the operation, was frequently hammered into *steel*.

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The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kautilīya

To understand fully the way in which government was administered at the time of Candragupta Maurya, a knowledge of the various officers with a demarcation of the respective ranges of their duties is essential. A clear and accurate description of such duties would also show the divisions and sub-divisions of the labour necessary for an efficient working of the huge machinery of administration of the Maurya empire. This will also serve as a convenient means of comparing the system of admininistration of the Maurya period with those of earlier or later times. Such comparisons are calculated to indicate the line of evolution of the Hindu administrative system together with the changes through which it passed at the various epochs. I have shown in my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, ch. VII, the extent of resemblance existing among the several lists of functionaries named in Sanskrit works from the Vedic period to the *Kautilīya*. The recognition of the *eighteen tīrthas* (functionaries) of a state was traditional and had a very early origin. In tracing the evolution of the state officials, it has also been pointed out how some of the private or semi-private servants of the king's household gradually evolved into executive officers of government in later times. A few instances would make the point clear. The *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Purohita* figuring among the eight *vīras* of the *Pañcaviṃsa Brāhmaṇa* appear to be the same, signifying the royal priest. The *Senānī* of the Vedic list is the Commander of the Army and the *Sūta* the Royal Equerry. The latter officer was very likely a mere private servant of the king's household, but an official charged with the state duty of looking after the management of

The importance of a trustworthy delineation of the duties of the officials.

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all the horses kept for the king's personal use as well as for military purposes. In later times, with the greater differentiation of duties, his place was occupied by the Aśvādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Horses) in the *Kauṭilīya* list. The *Akṣāvāpa* or the Superintendent of Dicing, appears to have been a private servant of the royal *entourage*, but later on, he was a public official supervising the gambling halls and collecting revenue therefrom. The *Dyūtādhyakṣa* with similar functions is found in the *Kauṭilīya*. There are several other officers of the Vedic period, such as *Saṃgrahītṛ*, *Bhāgadugha*, *Rathakāra*, who may also be cited in corroboration of my remark regarding the two aforesaid points viz. the evolution of some of the Government officials from the royal *entourage*, and the resemblance in functions and sometimes in names of several functionaries of the Vedic and later periods ; but the names of those cited above are sufficient for the present purpose.

The delineation of the respective spheres of duties of the many state-officials mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, pointing out at the same time the gradation of their ranks, is no doubt an interesting task, but it is not without its difficulties. Apart from the obscurity of the text of the *Kauṭilīya* on many items of duty of the officials, the treatise is sometimes silent on the position of some of the officers in the official hierarchy. In such cases, the difficulty has to be overcome, if possible, by inferences drawn from other evidences.

The difficulty of the task.

The scale of salaries and allowances to the queen, crown-prince, royal priest, prime minister, and the various officers of state supplies a clue by which the rank of a particular person or officer can be determined. The largest amount is recommended for the (permanent) sacrificial priest (ṛtvij), royal tutor, *mantrin*, royal priest (*purohita*), com-

Evidence as to the several ranks in the official hierarchy.

1 *K.*, bk. V, ch. 3.

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mander-in-chief, crown-prince as also the queen and the king's mother. In the first rank are therefore found so far as the secular administrative work is concerned, the *mantrin*, and the commander-in-chief. The crown-prince was also appointed at times to responsible posts under government, e.g. the governorship of a province.

The officials in the first rank.

In the second rank are named *Dauvārika*, *Antarvaṃśika*. *Praśāstṛ*, *Samāhartṛ*, and *Sannidhātṛ*. The official named second is the Superintendent of the inner or ladies' appartments. His designation appears to be a variant of Antarveśmika [*antar* (inner) and *veśma* (house)]. He belongs to the king's household staff, and important as his duties are, he has been placed in the second rank of officials in respect of salary. His duties will be detailed in connection with the delineation of the king's household staff, and so he is left out of consideration for the present.

The officials in the second rank.

Antarvaṃśika.

Dauvārika was not always the ordinary gate-keeper as his designation may lead one to think, but was a high official with responsible duties. The variants of his designation as given in the *Amara-koṣa* are : *pratihāra*, *dvārapāla*, *dvāḥstha*, *dvāḥsthita* and *darśaka*, while those in the *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā* of Halāyudha are *dvāḥstha*, *dauvārika*, *kṣattṛ*, *daṇḍin*, *vetradhara*, *utsāraka*, *dvārapāla*, and *pratihāra*. As already pointed out he received a salary equal to that of the Praśāstṛ, Samāhartṛ, and Sannidhātṛ, and higher than that of the judicial officer of the town (Pauravyāvahārika) and the members of the *mantri-pariṣat*. The word *Dauvārika* is found in the *Arthaśāstra* more than once (I, 12 ; 21 ; V, 2) along with the names of the most important and responsible officers of the State. Every morning along with the ministers and king's relatives he had to wait for and receive the king in an apartment of the palace (I, 20 : caturthyāṃ mantribhiḥ sambān-

Dauvārika.

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dhibhiḥ dauvārikaiś ca). If occasion demanded he is recommended to be entrusted even with the duties usually performed by the king himself (dauvārikāntarvaṃśikamukhaś ca yathoktaṃ rājapraṇidhim anuvartayet).

The *Prasāstṛ* was most probably the official who was in charge of the department in which the writs or instruments containing the royal orders were prepared, and from which they were issued to the individuals concerned in the formal way. Bk. II, ch. 10 of the *Kauṭilīya* on the preparation of royal writs is silent as to the officer under whose direction the affa of the department were carried on. The *Praśāstṛ* nam in the second grade of the official hierarchy is very probably the officer who was the head of this department. The nature of his duties required that the person entrusted with them should be extremely trustworthy, and hence the dignified position of this office in the official cadre.

Praśāstṛ.

The *Sannidhātṛ* and *Samāhartṛ* named last in the list were the two most important executive officers in the dominion. The *Sannidhātṛ* was saddled with heavy duties. In addition to certain items of work done directly by himself, he had to supervise the duties of the following Superintendents of different departments viz., (1) The Superintendent of the Treasure-house (*Kośādhyakṣa*). (2) The Superintendent of Trades (*Paṇyādhyakṣa*). (3) The Superintendent of Store-house (*Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*). (4) The Superintendent of Forest Stores (*Kupyādhyakṣa*), (5) The Superintendent of the Arsenal (*Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa*). (6) The Superintendent of Prisons (*Bandhanāgārādhyakṣa*).

Sannidhātṛ.

Six Superintendents under Sannidhātṛ.

The reason for holding that these six Superintendents were under the control of Sannidhātṛ lies in the fact that certain items of work implying and involving supervision of those of the aforesaid Superintendents are mentioned in Book II, ch. 5 of the *Kauṭilīya*, enumerating his duties in a general way. In addition to this work, he was in charge

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of the construction and perhaps also the up-keep of the houses required for working the six departments viz, *Koṣagṛha*, (Treasure-house) *Paṇyagṛha*, (Trade-house), *Kaṣṭhāgāra* (Store-house) *Kupyagṛha*, (Forest Store-house), *Āyudhāgāra* (Arsenal) and *Bandhanāgāra* (Jail). These were built under the direction of the *Sannidhātṛ*, according to particular plans with underground rooms where necessary, to suit the requirements of the work done there. In addition to these buildings those for the *Mahāmātras* as also those for the location of the law-courts (*Dharmasthīya*) were also constructed under his supervision.

Two Superintendents under Paṇyādhyakṣa.

The works of the Superintendent of Weights (*Pautavādhyakṣa*), and the Superintendent of Measures (*Mānādhyakṣa*) were supervised by the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*[2] who had also to control or supervise other matters concerning other departments of government. He had, for example, to control the prices of all the commodities manufactured or garnered in the several departments of government and sold to the public at large. The fixing of the prices was a difficult task, as it had to be done after taking into account various factors bearing upon the collection or production of the commodities.

Ākarādhyakṣa.

The Superintendent of Mines (*Ākarādhyakṣa*) had a close touch with the Superintendent of the Treasure house, for, as Kauṭilya says, the mines are the source of the treasure, and treasure the source of the

1 *K.*, II, ch. 5.

2 The opening passage of *K.*, IV, ch. 2 has the words 'saṃsthādhyakṣyaḥ paṇyasaṃsthāyāṃ tulāmānabhāṇḍāni cāvekṣeta, pautavāpacārāt'. Here *saṃsthādhyakṣa* may refer to the head of the particular department where wares of a particular class are stored, manufactured, and sold, but as the work of supervision of a department is best done by an official not belonging to the department and as we find such official in the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*, *the Saṃsthādhyakṣa* in the passage would, I think, be the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*.

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army. It is with the treasure and the army that the whole world can be acquired. But inspite of this close connection between the spheres of work of the two heads of departments, the text does not mention that the Superintendent of Mines was under the *Sannidhātṛ* as the Superintendent of the Treasure-house was. The extracting of metals from the ores and the collection of pearls and precious stones from land and ocean-mines were the duties of the *Ākarādhyakṣa*. The further treatment of the metals thus obtained to convert them into metal wares, coins etc. rested upon

Five other Superintendents connected with the Mining Department.

(1) the *Lohādhyakṣa*, in charge of the inferior metals,

(2) the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* the Minter of copper coins,[1]

(3) the *Suvarṇādhyakṣa*, who was in charge of the department for making gold wares and ornaments, and had to supervise the work of the *Sauvarṇika*, the Minter of gold and silver coins ;

while the *Khanyadhyakṣa* had to give the final merchantable shape to the precious stones, conch-shells, pearls, corals, and the *kṣāra* from which salt was obtained. There was a separate officer (*Lavaṇādhyakṣa*) who was entrusted with the disposal of the purified salt, and the collection of government dues on this as well as on the salt imported from outside.[2]

The treasure kept in the Treasure-house included among other things *ratna*, *sāra*, *phalgu* and *kupya*. These four items comprised articles of diverse kinds from pearls and precious stones to sandal wood, agallochum, skins, blankets, and cloths of various descriptions. It will be seen shortly that cloths and blankets were manufactured, and skins stored in the two government departments under *Sūtrādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Weaving) and *Kupyādhyakṣa* respectively but the

Whether the Treasure-house had any connection with the Forest Store-house and the Weaving Department.

1 The English translation on this point by Dr. R. Shama Sastri is fau'ty.

2 *K.*, II, chs. 12, 13.

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textiles in the Treasure-house were of five qualities and comprised those from places noted for their manufacture, while the skins kept there were valuable, and were of animals different from those named in connection with the forest store-house.

The connection of Koṣṭhāgāra and Kupyāgāra with other departments.

We have examined the connection of the departments under the *Kośādhyakṣa* and *Paṇyādhyakṣa* with the other departments. The next two Superintendents under the *Sannidhātṛ* are those of *Koṣṭhāgāra* (Store-house) and *Kupyāgāra* (Forest Store-house).

The articles of food and clothing needed in the several departments of government e.g. the Military and the Live-stock, as also for payments in kind made by the government when necessary were supplied from these two as also from other departments where they were stored or manufactured.[1]

The touch of arsenal and jail with other departments.

The close touch of the *Āyudhāgāra* (arsenal) with the police and the military, as also that of the *Bandhanāgāra* (jail) with the *Dharmasthīya* and *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts needs no mention, and as regards the jail (*Bandhanāgāra*) in a town, the *Nāgaraka* (Town-keeper) was associated with its management, very probably, as subordinate to the *Sannidhātṛ*.[2]

The Jail in a town and the Nāgaraka.

Samāhartṛ.

The duties of the *Samāhartṛ* may be divided into :

(1) The conduct of the department entrusted with the maintenance of statistical records up to date as a permanent source of information at all times of the year, and with the work of land survey. The statistics in regard to a town were compiled under

1 For references to payment of salary etc. in kind (*bhakta*), see *K.*, II, chs. 32, 33 ; V, ch. 3.

2 *K.*, II, ch. 36.

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the direction of the *Nāgaraka*, the official in charge of a town.[1]

(2) The collection of all sorts of taxes and other government dues through officers directly under him, or through those of other departments, who by the nature of their work could realize the dues more conveniently, making over, subsequently, to the *Samāhartṛ* the sums realized by them.[2]

(3) The control and supervision of the Accountant-General and his staff, the checking of accounts, endeavouring at the same time to keep down the expenses as far as possible. That it was part of his duty not merely to collect government dues and to exercise pressure for keeping the items of expenses as far within the prescribed limits as possible is evident from passages in book II, ch. 6 of the *Kauṭilīya* where the items comprised in the whole body of expenditure (*vyayaśarīram*) are enumerated in a general way as a subject requiring the *Samāhartṛ's* attention, and the reduction of expenditure has been mentioned as one of his duties (*hrāsam vyayasya*).

(4) It was the practice in the *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* court that three *Pradeṣṭṛs* or three *Amātyas* would try cases.[3] As an *Amātya* (high official), the *Samāhartṛ* could sit as one of these judges in the court for trying cases. This inference obtains confirmation from the opening passage of Bk. IV, ch. 9 of the *Kauṭilīya*, where the *Samāhartṛs* and the *Pradeṣṭṛs* are asked to maintain discipline in the various departments of government by bringing to book the offending heads of departments or their subordinates. But as there were many *Amātyas* (high officials), the *Samāhartṛ* had to sit as a judge at intervals, which

1 *K.*, II, chs. 35, 36.

2 *K.*, II, ch. 6.

3 See my *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 120; *K.*, IV, ch. 1.

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must have been long in view of the various other duties occupying much of his time.

(5) The detection of offences committed by the Government servants in the performance of their duties and the collection of correct information in regard to matters involved in the land survey and the keeping of statistical records up to date by engaging the services of officers of the Department of Secret Intelligence were the duties of the *Samāhartṛ*.[1] Of course, he was relieved in the performance of these duties by a large number of subordinate officers of various grades, whose assistance made it possible for him to do justice to his multifarious works.

The *Śulkādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Tolls) appears to have been under the *Sannidhātṛ*, for śulka (toll) is included in the first division of government dues, the collection of which was supervised by the *Sannidhātṛ*. This division was named *durgaṃ*.[2] The other divisions such as *khani, setu, vanam* mention in a general way the articles subject to the payment of tolls or other impositions. These articles are detailed in the *Kauṭilīya*, II, ch. 22 with the mention of the sums paid on them as toll. Moreover, *dvārādeya* (gate-due) collected by the Superintendent of Tolls is included in the *durgaṃ* mentioned above. This shows in a general way that the Superintendent by the nature of his duties was under the superintendence of the *Sannidhātṛ*, and as he had no duties other than the collection of *śulka* (toll) and the like, he appears to have been wholly subordinate to the *Sannidhātṛ*.

Sītādhyakṣa.

The *Sītādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Agriculture) supervised the raising of food crops and medicinal herbs on crown lands, and the collection of certain government dues connected with agriculture. The yield of crops from crown lands was stored under his care.

1 *K.*, II, 35 ; iv, 9.

2 *K.*, II, ch. 6.

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Sūtrādhyakṣa.

The *Sūtrādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Weaving) was responsible for the manufacture of textiles, ropes etc. for use for government purposes mentioned in connection with the *Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*.

Surādhyakṣa.

The *Surādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Liquor) looked after the preparation of liquor for government use and its sale in grog-shops. He also regulated the location of grog-shops conducted by private individuals, controlled them otherwise, and collected from them the government dues.

Sūnādhyakṣa.

It was the duty of the *Sūnādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Slaughter) to prevent the molestation of birds and beasts declared to be under state protection or living in the forest preserves of the State. He also supervised the butchers' trade.

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala

II

Neḍumpura Taḷi

Neḍumpura Taḷi in the Cochin State is one of the most important historical sites of ancient Keraḷa, about which, curiously enough, history has been silent. A brief notice that it contains a Śiva temple with some old inscriptions is all that is vouchsafed to us in the monumental work of Mr. Sewell on the Antiquities of Southern India. An examination of this secluded and generally unknown place and the unfolding of its past are rendered difficult by its comparative inaccessibility to the ordinary traveller accustomed only to modern conveyances and means of communication. But, apart from its lithic documents noticed by me in a previous article, a study of its antique remains as well as of its existing traditions is bound to bring to light valuable historical materials. This will amply repay the travail of the tourist and sight-seer and of the patient research student, as it will considerably help the investigation of certain interesting points in Keraḷa history, and suggest fresh historical problems for solution.

Taḷi is a village in the Talappaḷḷi Taluk of the Cochin State, about 5 miles south of the Paṭṭāmbi Railway Station on the Malabar branch of the South Indian Railway and 8 miles due west of Ceṛuturutti on the Cochin State Railway. Inaccessible by road and situated in remote corner of the north-western part of the State, it is removed from all centres of civilization. Tourists getting down at the sixth milestone on the Ceruturutti-Ponnāni road will have to trudge a distance of about 3 miles through paddy flats and well-wooded hillocks to reach the place. This village can also be reached from the south by the road running from Vaṭakkāṅceri to Nelluvāya and Titccūr, the last village being about 4 to 5 miles south of Taḷi.

The name 'Taḷi,' which first meant the temple, the unit of local administration, and later on the manager of the temple, appears to have been applied to the city of Nityavicāreśvaraṃ in which it was situate. It is now known as Neḍum Taḷi, and Neḍumpura Taḷi, the first being a contraction of the second and different from the Neṭiya Taḷi of *Kraḷolpatti* fame or it might mean the

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'Great Taḷi', especially as the deity of the pagoda is designated 'Tirumattaḷi Appan'. 'Neḍumpura Taḷi' must have received its prefix 'Neḍumpura' from Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu, the country in which it was situate, and in which the Taḷi temple was the grandest and most important pagoda. The prefix distinguishes it from other places which continue to have the affix 'Taḷi' added on to them.

According to one tradition these Taḷis were the seats of the Perumāḷs who ruled over Keraḷa. These Perumāḷs are said to have frequently toured about the country and given the name of 'Taḷi' to their palaces, and the residences of their councillors, the four Taḷiyātiris. It is likely that some of them were the seats of the local potentates including the scions of the early Perumāḷ family shut out from regal succession by the law of Marumakkathayam, of the princes who became the ancestors of some of the royal houses like the Puraḷiśans of Kaṭṭayam (North Malabar), the Ayirūr Svarūpam, the Quilon royal family, etc. They had their miniature courts and generals similar to those attending on the suzerain Perumāḷ.

There is some basis for this tradition, since we find that we have definite historical data to prove that many of these Taḷis were once the capitals of pro-consuls, e.g., Nileśwaraṃ Taḷi, Rāman Taḷi, Kōḷikkoṭṭu Taḷi, the Crānganūr Taḷis, the Kaṭatturutti (Vaṭakkenkūr) and Tirunakkara (Tekkenkūr) Taḷis. Neḍumpura Taḷi might, therefore, well have been the capital of the Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍ Chief.

Traditionally, these Taḷis number about eighteen-and-a-half, the half-Taḷi being the Ara-Taḷi of Cranganūr, said to have been converted, with royal permission, into the present Koḍuṅgu Mosque. Neḍumpura Taḷi is said to have been the most important of these Taḷis, as it had a famous and richly endowed temple with about 108 shrines within its Sanketam or sacredotal and temporal jurisdiction.

Even to-day relics of these are visible through the labyrinth of ruins scattered about the plain, barely two furlong to the east of the principal temple of Neḍumpura Taḷi and separated from it by means of the Arakulam. This latter is a wonderful "half-tank" similar to the lake, Arā Kulam, of the Imperial Capital of Crānganūr, about half a mile by a quarter of a mile in size. Half of the Arakuḷam of Nityavicāreśvaraṃ is now used for paddy cultivation, and the rest is choked up with rubbish from the neighbouring plains. The open space in the east of it is literally strewn with the wreckage of centuries, the most striking being the granite idols, some of enormous size. These rear their heads over

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the tops of every woody ridge and through every cluster of trees in the homesteads of the poor Moplah peasantry of the locality. One of these *lingams*, perched on the top of a hill more than 40 feet high, is about 6½ feet high. Its upper portion is circular and is 4 feet in altitude with a circumference of about 7½ feet, while the lower part is hexagonal in shape. This image, popularly and correctly styled 'the Taṭiyan Tevar' or 'Big' Śiva Lingam, is set up on a *pīṭham* or basement of granite, 4ft. 9 in. square and one foot high. The original temple appears to have been approachable from the ground below by a flight of stone-paved steps which have now disappeared almost completely. Remains of similar temples with slightly smaller idols as well as the vestiges of more than a dozen wells can be found all over the place.[1]

Apart from historical records, existing local traditions about wholesale conversions to Islam, destruction of temples in the Ponnāni Taluk and the construction of a well-built fort at a strategical position

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1 Systematic conservation alone can save from imminent destruction the still surviving traces of the pristine glory of a parochial civilisation which preserved the best fruits of Hindu culture and the manifold achievements of the Malayāḷis in the arts, architecture and art-crafts. Already, many causes have greatly contributed to the rapid dispersion of many of these extant traces that have survived the ravages of time, and only a few massive idols and granite slabs remain, the solitary remnants of imposing edifices which have for many centuries defied all human efforts to dislodge or transport them.

Apart from conservation, the imperative necessity of commencing excavation operations on a systematic scale and under able and expert direction is more and more keenly felt. Unlike In many other places, the area over which the temple exercised immediate jurisdiction, i.e., the *Ambalapparambu* or temple site, is almost clearly marked out by the presence of monuments, and hence the task of digging up the remains is comparatively easy. But the swift advance of time and the swifter action of man will complicate tenfold the difficulties of the archæologist in laying bare to the public the various inscriptional and art treasures lying entombed in this benighted region. In fact, even now the action of the landords of the place in filling up the Arakulam—which be a *fait accompli*—has introduced another element of confusion in the matter of excavation.

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at Kūrrnāḍ by Tipu Sultan, lend support to the view that he had some hand in the downfall of this premier city of the Neḍumpuraiyūr Chiefs. For Kūrrnāḍ is situated about 6 miles north-west of Taḷi and at the junction of two important commercial land routes, *viz.*, the Pālghāt-Ponnāni road and its branch to Kunnamkuḷam and ultimately to Cāvakkāḍ and Tṛcūr.

With a well-endowed old temple which had attached to itself a large number of Śiva shrines, Taḷi might well have been the capital of an important principality. There are even now traces to show that the Ayirūr Svarūpaṃ, a collateral branch of the present Paṭiññāṟṟiyeḍatt Svarūpaṃ or the Crāṅganūr royal family, exercised in the early medieval period some sort of authority over Taḷi and the neighbouring parts, especially towards the west. The Raja of Ayirūr is said to have possessed a palace called the Ayirūr Kovilakam in Celūr *deśam* adjacent to the Taḷi *deśam* and now merged into it. He is believed to have owned the Bhadrakāḷi temple of Śrī Vīrasthānaṃ, popularly called Tiruviṭṭāṇikkāvu, now administered by an Aḍigaḷ family who claims its ownership and who performs the worship in it like the Aḍigaḷs of the Crāṅganūr Bhagavatī temple. This shrine is barely half a mile to the west of the premier Śiva temple. Taḷi itself is half-way between the traditional and original seat of the Ayirūr family in Vannerināḍ, some 6 miles south of Ponnāni, and their next known capital Pālappeṭṭi, now a petty village in the Kaṇṇamkuḷam *aṃśaṃ* of the Ponnāni Taluk of South Malabar, 4 miles south-west of Tṛpṛayār and 18 miles south of Cetwāi creek.

Another relic is a strong fort located a furlong to the north of the temple and built throughout of brick and laterite, on the summit of a high hill, about a mile in circumference. This citadel had a deep moat, now mostly filled up with mud and masses of cyclopean masonry carried by the torrents from the hill-top above and the high ramparts around. The fortress probably faced the west, the deep rectangular cut made by the outway towards the centre being clearly visible on that side. It was probably also connected by a bridge (now lost) with another hill of the same height to its north, as may be inferred from the existence of a long mound of earth of the same level between the two hills. The crown of the last hill is wide enough to have provided space for a bastion or turret in which a strong reserve force could be safely lodged, ready for any emergency. On the principal hill is a small eminence containing a crater-like hollow, the evident traces of a watch-tower.

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This fort is now designated the Ceramān Koṭṭa, the fort of Ceramān Perumāḷ, by a people who love to assign eveything ancient to Ceramān Perumāl, the eponymous hero of popular tradition in Keraḷa. It most probably belonged to the *Nāḍuvāḻi* (or provincial ruler) and was occupied by the *Paṭanāyar* (*Senāpati*, Commander) of Neḍumpurāiyūrnāḍu, mentioned in the epigraphs in the temple at Taḷi.

Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu seems to have comprised the major portion of the Talappaḷḷi Taluk and extended right up to the eastern borders of Pālghāt and included it. This province was divided into many sub-divisions, none of which are named in the Taḷi inscriptions. The name of one of them, Vaccanāḍu, the country about Maṅkarai on the Pottanūr-Ṣoraṇūr portion of the South Indian Railway, has, however, come down to us; for Kaṇḍan Kāman, a native of Maṅkarai in this sub-division of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu, is mentioned along with other chiefs of Malaināḍu in the retinue of Prince Rājāditya Cōḷa, son of Parakesari Parāntaka I.[1]

This Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu has also been mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravi Varma[2] as the territory of Kotai Śrī Kaṇṭhan and Kotai Ravi who witnessed that document. Dr. Hultzsch, when Government Epigraphist, identified it with Pāḷakkāḍu (Pālghāt) and with the Puraigiḷannāḍu of the Tirunelli grant.[3] Though the latter equation is incorrect, his identification of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu with Pālghāt is confirmed by surviving relics. The most significant of these is that the Pālghāt Accans (called also the Rajas of the Tarūr Svarūpaṃ), the descedants of the Pālghāt Rajas, are still using the name of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu for their ancestral kingdom in their *Ariyiṭṭuvāḻcca* —a purificatory ceremony accompanied with the throwing at the claimant to the throne, of raw uncooked rice sanctified by mantras, which was an essential preliminary to the *Kirīṭam Veccu Vāḻcca* or coronation.

There is also a tradition that the ancestors of the Pālghāt Rajas emigrated from the western to the eastern parts and fixed their capital at Pālghāt, or more probably at Neḍumpuraiyūr, an old city on the Pālghāt road. They are said to have given part of their territories in the Ātavanād *aṃśaṃ* of the Ponnāni Taluk to Āḷuvāncēri Tam-

1 Vide *The Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India*, 1905-6—the inscriptions of Parāntaka I at Tirunāmanallūr, p. 181.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p. 68.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 285-92.

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purākkaḷ, the great primate of Keraḷa. This *aṃśaṃ* lies only a few miles to the north-west of Taḷi. As the emigration is said to have taken place before the *Koṅṅanpaḍa* of 917 A.C. we may understand why the Taḷi inscriptions do not refer to the *Nāḍuvāḻi* as residing at Taḷi.

A preliminary examination of the antiquities of the place in the light of local traditions and subsequent history, therefore, brings to light that this historic site was the seat of a prominent *Nāḍuvāḻi* or *Paṭanāyar*—that of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu—and that it was the residence of the Ayirūr Svarūpaṃ. It is a point for careful investigation as to which of these chiefs first occupied the place, when the Ayirūr family emigrated to Taḷi and from there to Pālappeṭṭi (their capital in historic times) and when the Pālghāt Accans came to be separated from the Cochin Rajas who were their relatives according to tradition.

A. GOVINDA WARIAR

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Assamese Historical Literature*

The talented compiler of the Gupta inscriptions penned the following lines deploring the absence of ancient historical compilations in India: "Rich as have been their bequests to us in other lines, the Hindus have not transmitted to us any historical works which can be accepted as reliable for very early times.....It is, indeed, very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines,"[1] This statement would have been qualified to a great extent if it had been known that the Assamese people have preserved regular chronicles of their country from very early times. This claim is substantiated by what Sir George Abraham Grierson said several years ago in the *Linguistic Survey of India*: "The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient.....The historical works or Buranjis, as they are styled by the Assamese, are numerous aad voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification to an Assamese gentleman."[2]

Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, the first Assamese to receive the light of western culture, and to rise to the rank of a District Magistrate at the age of twenty-seven, wrote so early as 1855: "In no department of literature do the Assamese appear to have been more successful than in history. Remnants of historical works that treat of the times of Bhagadatta, a contemporary of Rājā Yudhiṣṭhira, are still in existence. The chain of historical events, however, since the last 600 years, has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. It would be difficult to name all the historical works, or as they are styled by the Assamese, *Buranjis*.

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* Read at the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November, 1928.

1 Dr. J. F. Fleet's *Indian Epigraphy*, reprinted from *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. II, pp. 3 and 5.

2 *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. I, part 1, Introductory, p. 156.

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They are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification in an Assamese gentleman, and every family of distinction, and specially the Government and public officers, kept the most minute records of historical events, prepared by the learned Pundits of the country."[1]

Of these Buranjis, a few have been recovered while many others are still in the possession of ancient families. They are written in fast-coloured ink on polished strips of the bark of *Saci* (*Aquilaria Agallocha*) tree. We may classify these chronicles under three main heads, confining our remarks to those which we have ourselves seen and gone through :

1. Desultory chronicles of the Hindu kings of Kāmarūpa, from Bhagadatta to the conquest of Assam by the Ahoms, a Shan tribe, in 1228 A.C.
2. Chronicles of the Ahom kings of Assam from 1228 to the termination of their rule in 1826, continued up to 1838 A.C., or even later.
3. Chronicles of countries other than Assam.

Besides the above three classes there are other chronicles supplementing and amplifying the information found in the former, *viz.*, dynastic archives and chronicles, family histories or Vaṃśāvalīs, chronicles of the religious institutions or Satria Buranjis, and metrical chronicles dealing with the lives of religious pontiffs and founders of the numerous religious creeds and monasteries of Assam.[2]

1. *Chronicles of Early Kāmarūpa Rulers.*—History and tradition are interwoven in the texture of these chronicles, and none of them give an exhaustive survey of all the rulers, though attempts are made to indicate the chronology by the mention of succeeding dynasties with the names of their prominent representatives. One feels that the crude chroniclers have committed 'the fault of treating contemporaneous dynasties as successive ones'. Some names occurring here are to be found in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa kings published from

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1 Anandaram Phukan : *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language*, 1855, p. 45ff.

2 For a detailed classification of Assamese Buranjis see S. K. Bhuyan's *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*, published in the *Islamic Culture*, July, 1928, pp. 324-27.

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time to time in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Epigraphia Indica.*[1]

According to these chronicles, the earliest kings of Assam or Kāmarūpa was Mahiraṅga-dānava, son of Brahma, who had his capital at Moiroka near Gauhati. He was succeeded by Hatakāsur, Sambarāsur and Ratnāsur. The last king was killed by Viṣṇu, who installed Narakāsur on the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa. After the death of Naraka in the hands of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the great Bhagadatta of Kurukṣetra fame sat on the throne of Kāmarūpa. Discrepancies are noticeable in the enumeration of the successors of Bhagadatta, and we come across the following names : Bhagadatta's son Dharmapāla, his son Kāmapāla, his son Pṛthvipāla, and numerous other kings of the Bhagadatta line, extending over nineteen generations, each ruler reigning for a period of 105 to 125 years. Then came a king of another dynasty, named Mādhava, whose son Lakṣmīpāla invaded Gauḍa, and died after a reign of 74 years. Lakṣmīpāla's son Subāhu, Savaṅga in some chronicles, detained the horse let loose by Rājā Vikramāditya in connection with his Aśvamedha sacrifice. Vikramāditya invaded Prāgjyotiṣpura, and rescued his sacrificial horse after vanquishing Subāhu, who then retired to the Himalayas with his wife and children. He was succeeded by his minister Sumati, though he had a son, Subala, who joined his father in his penances. There were 21 kings of the dynasty of Mādhava. Then a Kṣatriya named Jitari, who belonged to the Dravida country, occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa and assumed the name Dharmapāla, and brought to Assam several families of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Gauḍa and Kanauj. Dharmapāla's son Śatānik, also known as Ratnapāla or Raktasiṃha, invaded the Gauḍa kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Somapāla. The Kṣatriya dynasty founded by Jitāri ruled for eight, according to some manuscripts, seventeen generations, the last being Rāmacandra or Pratāpasiṃha, whose son through Candraprabhā, named Śaśāṅka or Arimatta, became ruler of all the four *pīṭhas* of Kāmarūpa,—Ratna, Kāma, Svarṇa and Saumara. Arimatta constructed a huge rampart, which is known as Vaidyargarh up to this day ; he was defeated by

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1 The copper-plate grants of the following kings of Kāmarūpa were published in the JASB for 1840, 1894, 1897 and 1898 respectively :—Vanamāladeva, Balavarma, Indrapāla, Ratnapāla ; those of Vaidyadeva, Vallabhadeva and Bhāskaravarma in the *Epigraphia Indica* of 1894, 1898, 1899 and 1914 respectively.

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the invader Phingua of the royal family of Kamata, who had learned the vulnerable point in the war-methods of Arimatta from the latter's wife Raktamālā. Phingua murdered Raktamālā, but he himself was killed by Arimatta's son Raktasiṃha or Gajaṅka, who then ascended the throne of his father. Gajaṅka was succeeded by his son Sukaraṅka, and the latter by Mṛgāṅka. Arimatta's descendants ruled for four generations, for the period of 240 years, from *śaka* 1160 to 1400. Mṛgāṅka was childless, and he died of consumption as a punishment for carrying on secret liason with a Brāhmaṇa woman. With Mṛgāṅka, the long line of Hindu rulers of Assam came to an end. Kāmarūpa then became divided into numerous principalities, governed by the Barabhuyans and others who were gradually subdued by the Ahoms. The kingdom was invaded by Hussain Shah, Badshah of Gauḍa. Cooch Behar then rose into prominence under Viśvasiṃha in the first half of the sixteenth century.[1]

The above synopsis, which has been based on manuscript chronicles, without any attempt to divest the narrative of its native crudeness, will convince the reader that a systematic attempt was made in old Assam to record at least the traditions, which have been regarded as a subsidiary source of history, specially when they receive corroboration from other authoritative records, such as inscriptions. The original narrative of the Buranjis might have been drawn from written records which have now been lost, and which may eventually come to light when a more systematic, vigorous and organised attempt is made to recover and examine all the manuscripts lying in the archives of Assamese families. Epigraphic records, hitherto discoverd, tend more to corroborate in substance than to contradict the account given above, making ample allowance for the absence of the critical spirit which is mainly a modern product. At least, it has not been proved that any of the facts is of doubtful authenticity except from the chronological point of view.

Inscriptional evidence helps us to trace the following rulers of

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1 This account of the early Kāmarūpa rulers is based on two India Office manuscripts, transcripts of which are in the library of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati. I have also consulted Haliram Dhekial Phukan's (father of Anandaram quoted *ante*) *History of Assam* in Bengali published in 1829. Phukan appears to have drawn his materials from ms. chronicles of the class described in this paper.

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Kāmarūpa: Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta, interval,[1] Puṣyavarman, Samudravarman, Balavarman I, Kalyāṇavarman, Gaṇapativarman, Bhāskaravarman, interval, Susthitavarman *alias* Mṛgāṇka, Suprasthitavarman, Bhāskaravarman, interval, Śālastambha, Vigrahastambha, Pālakastambha, Vijayastambha, interval (?), Śrī-Hariś, interval, Pralambha, Harjjara, Vanamālā, Jayamālā, Balavarman II, interval, Tyāgasiṃha, Brahmapāla, Ratnapāla, Purandarapāla, interval, Tiṣyadeva, Vaidyadeva. The non-recurrence of most of these names in the chronicles may be due to the following reasons: First, the epigraphic texts were composed by learned scholars under the strict supervision of ministers to be finally approved by the monarch, and in consultation with authentic dynastic records, where laudatory exaggerations may creep in, as in the case of the Mandasor Inscrption of Yaśodharman[2] but never an inaccuracy with regard to the names of persons or places. As a reward for his labour the composer's name occasionally goes down to posterity being engraved in the concluding part of the inscription, like Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Harisena of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta. The kings are mentioned by their honorific appellations, rather than by their popular titles, except on very rare occasions, when the popular name had some widespread significance as in the case of Bhāskaravarman's father Susthitavarman, whose alternative name Mṛgānka also figures in the Nidhanpur copper-plate, a title which Haṃsavega mentioned before Emperor Harṣavardhana.[3] The chronicles of the early period mainly written for popular instruction generally inserted the names by which the monarchs were known widely among their subjects. Arimatta, who like king Arthur is the central figure of an extensive cycle of legends, is never known as Śaśāṅka, which name occurs curiously in one chronicle only. So we believe some of the chronicle kings of Kāmarūpa may be identical with the sovereigns of the epigraphic records. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered do not help us to trace the missing links; and intervals of hundreds of years, as in the case of Vajradatta and Puṣyavarman,

1 According to Yuan Chwang, the dynasty of Bhagadatta had been ruling for 3,000 years when he visited Kāmarūpa; so the interval between Vajradatta and Puṣyavarman may be roughly computed at 2,600 years.

2 Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 328.

3 Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*, tr. Cowell and Thomas.

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remain still unbridged. The chronicle kings might have reigned in these intervals.

Now let us turn to the epigraphic corroborations of the chronicle account. In all the inscriptions and Hindu classics, Bhagadatta is regarded as the founder of the dynasty of kings, known after his name, and known also as the Bhauma or Kaumra dynasty.[1] The chronicles give Dharmapāla as the name of Bhagadatta's successor, against Vajradatta in the inscriptions. Dharmapāla is a generic title, being assumed also by the first Dravidian king of Kāmarūpa, Jitāri. Vajradatta might have been known also as Dharmapāla, which has been used by our traditionalist chronicler, leaving the more accurate dynastic name Vajradatta to the official composer.

Another king of Kāmarūpa, Subāhu, is said to have intercepted the sacrificial horse of Vikramāditya, evidently a powerful ruler of Northern India. As this tradition has a more general interest we will scrutinise it somewhat minutely. The generic character of the name *Vikramāditya* has now been established beyond question. But who was this particular Vikramāditya who vanquished the Kāmarūpa king, Subāhu, the last king of the post-Bhagadatta dynasty? There are four recorded conflicts between Kāmarūpa and rulers of Northern India.

(*a*) Kāmarūpa was one of the kingdoms whose rulers, *Pratyanta-nṛpatis*, fulfilled the imperious commands, and obeyed the orders of the Indian Napoleon, Samudragupta, as we learn from the Allahabad Inscription, which however does not give any account of the conquest or subjugation of Kāmarūpa beyond mere reference to the event. It is a well-known fact that the Imperial Guptas favoured the recrudescence of Hinduism, and that Samudragupta, who has been styled *Aśvamedha-Parākrama* in a coin, restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which was in abeyance perhaps since the time of Puṣyamitra. The conqueror performed the ceremony with great splendour, and millions of gold and silver coins were distributed among Brāhmaṇas. An inscribed stone figure of the horse is now in the Lucknow Museum, though the inscription which was visible before is now almost effaced.[2] Samudragupta's son Candragupta II is regarded as one of the Indian Vikramādityas, during whose reign

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1 *Bhauma* is applied to a ruler of Naraka's race in Ratnapāla's grant, while *Kaumra* is used as the name of the dynasty to which Vajradatta belonged in Indrapāla's grant. Vide JASB, 1897, p. 124.

2 Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 288.

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Kālidāsa is supposed to have flourished. The poet's description of Raghu's victory over the Kāmarūpa king,[1] who was vanquished in his own territory by the imperial invader, might be an echo of the actual defeat of the ruler of Assam in the hands of the father of the poet's patron. It is one of the most rational historical mistakes in record that our chronicles transferred the title Vikramāditya from son to father; and besides, who knows that the Indian Napoleon himself was not a Vikramāditya?

(*b*) According to the Mandasor Stone Inscription, Yaśodharman extended his territories up to the Lohitya. The achievements of this ruler as recorded in the inscription have been held as an instance of panegyric grandiloquence; and his name is not mentioned in any other contemporary document, except a few inscriptions, which would be impossible if he had been a Vikramāditya.

(*c*) The Aphsad Inscription refers to the victory of Mahāsenagupta of the later Gupta family over Susthitavarman, the fame of which heroic deed was heard on the banks of the Lohitya during the reign of Mahāsenagupta's grandson Ādityasena, some seventy or eighty years after. Discarding the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari king, and taking him to be a Kāmarūpa ruler, father of Bhāskaravarman,[2] we have no additional data to connect the Mahāsenagupta-Susthitavarman contest with our chronicler's Vikramāditya-Subāhu campaign.

(*d*) According to the account of the chronicle, the last king of Naraka's line was ousted by Mādhava, who had 20 successors, the last being Subāhu who was defeated by a Vikramāditya. The copper-plate of Ratnapāla (JASB, 1898, p. 114) states that Naraka's dynasty was overthrown by Śālastambha, a great king of the Mlecchas. Śālastambha had 20 successors the last being Tyāgasiṃha. The grant of Vanamāladeva (JASB, 1840), says that Pralambha, father of Harjjaravarman,[3] destroyed his enemies and took action against those who were enemies to his ancestors, from Śālastambha to Śrīharṣa. In the inscription of Jayadeva Paracakrakāma, the Licchavi king of Nepal, Harṣadeva is mentioned as father of Rājya-

1 *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto 4, vv. 81-85.

2 The name Susthitavarman does not occur in any Maukhari coin or record.

3 In the rock inscription at Tezpur, of the reign of Harjjaravarman, where the Gupta era 510 has been used, corresponding to 828-29 A.C.

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mati, born of the royal family of Bhagadatta, a compliment which has not been paid to her father Harṣadeva, probably because Rājyamati's relationship with the Bhagadatta family was derived from the female line.[1] One thing is clear from this inference, that Rājyamati's mother etc. being of the family of Bhagadatta, Harṣadeva must be of a non-Bhāgadatta family, a conclusion which agrees with the evidence of the chronicle account and Vanamāla's grant read with that of Ratnapāla. Prof. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Aiyangar surmises that Harṣadeva of the Nepal Inscription is the same as Śrī-Harṣa of Vanamāla's grant. The learned historian points to the possibility of Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa and lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala being the Gauḍa ruler who was defeated by Yaśovarman of Kanauj, as described in the Prākṛt poem *Gauḍavaho*, i.e., Gauḍavadha or slaying of the Bengal ruler.[2] Yaśovarman was a veritable Vikramāditya, being patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, author of the *Gauḍavaho*. May we not take the Vikramāditya-Subāhu conflict to be identical with the Yaśovarman-Harṣadeva war?

The chronicles have preserved a large mass of folklore which is still to be found in oral traditions among the people, some being associated with many ancient sites and ruins of the Assam valley. We hesitate to dismiss the account as untrustworthy, for the paucity of data with which they can be verified, and which may be forthcoming when long-continued investigations will place at our disposal a larger volume of facts. There are instances where tradition has preceded history. I will cite only one instance. An historical ballad procured by me from a villager, dealing with the adventure of Badan-candra Barphukan, the Ahom Viceroy of Gauhati, who brought over the Burmese to Assam in 1817, gives the picture of an Assamese princess, Rangili by name, the queen of King Bodowapaya of Ava.[3] Accord-

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1 The inscription was deciphered by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Antiquary*. vol, ix. The date of the inscrp. corresponds to A.C. 758-59.

2 *Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India, J.I.H.*, Dec. 1926, p. 327. The two questions, 1st., whether Susthitavarman of the Aphsad Inscription was king of Kāmarūpa ; 2nd. whether Harṣadeva is of non-Bhagadatta origin, discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's "Copper-plate and Stone Inscriptions of Old Assam".

3 *Barphukanar Git*, ed. by S. K. Bhuyan, reviewed in JRAS, 1925, pp. 763-768.

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ing to the ballad, Rangili was responsible for securing for Badancandra the good graces of the Burmese monarch, who lent the supplicant a strong Burmese detachment with which he returned to Assam. This episode was never before known, not being mentioned in any history published up to date. Subsequent investigations proved that Rangili's intercession was an historical fact, which received further corroboration from the Diary of Capt. Hiram Cox, the British Resident at Ava.[1]

With regard to these chronicles, the duty of the future investigator will be to extricate the historical substance from the large mass of narratives of a traditional character. Whatever might be their value, they at least help us to sketch the outline of the ancient history of Kāmarūpa provisionally, and not entirely in an unconnected form.

2. *Chronicles of the Ahom Rulers*, 1228-1838. Our claim that Assam is an exception to the complaint made by Western scholars regarding the paucity of historical literature among the Hindus is based upon chronicles dealing with the events of the Ahom period. The Ahoms were a member of the great Shan race, to which the peoples of Burma aud Siam also belong. The Siamese and the Burmese have maintained voluminous chronicles of their countries, known as *P'ongsawadans* and *Azawins* respectively, which show their historical instincts, though not critical according to our modern conception. The introduction of historiography into Assam by the Ahoms was one of the greatest cultural contributions which they made to their land of adoption. At the same time, there is room for doubt that the contact of Assam with Kāśmīr, the only other Hindu country which can boast of any historical literature, through king Meghavāhana, the consort of the Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā,[2] and through the invasion of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, might also be responsible for the historical predilections of the Assamese people. The question has not yet been finally settled.

Whatever may be the contributory factors, Assam possesses a voluminous mass of chronicles. They are known as *Buranjis*, which is an Ahom word, literally meaning 'a store that teaches the ignorant.' They were compiled under the supervision of government officials, and the chroniclers were given free access to all the necessary state papers,

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1 *Rangili*, by Benudhar Sarma, published in *Bāhi*, vol. xv, p. 492.

2 Rājataraṅgiṇī, tr. A. Stein, Book III, vv. 147-150; III, vv. 9-10.

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including despatches from local administrators and commanders engaged in civil and military operations, diplomatic correspondence, court minutes recorded day to day, as well as proceedings of important judicial trials. Attached to the secretariat there was an army of scribes under an officer called *Likhakar Barua* or superintendent of the department of writers. Buranjis were also compiled by the nobles under their immediate supervision or by themseles. Copies of chronicles were taken by persons who wanted to preserve in their archives a representative collection of *puthis* or manuscripts. The result was that every family of distinction managed to have a Buranji in its possession.[1]

A knowledge of history was an indispendable factor in the cultural equipment of an Assamese gentleman. It was a part of the training imparted to the children of princes and nobles. A few pages of a Buranji were recited in royal marriages. It was even believed that the future could be ascertained by consulting hand-written chronicles. All this tended to convert the secular Buranjis into religious scriptures. In A.C. 1803, an Ahom officer named Śrīnāth Duara Barbarua had a history compiled of the kings of Tungkhungiya dynasty, who reigned from 1682 to the termination of Ahom rule. The preamble to this chronicle testifies to the esoteric veneration with which Buranjis were looked upon in old Assam:

"Salutation to Śrīkṛṣṇa! Salutation to Gaṇeśa! Salutation to Pārvatī! This is the Buranji compiled in *Śaka* 1725 under the orders of the Duara Barbarua. Keep it secretly. Do not give it to your son if you have no confidence in him. Paṇḍits have prohibited the betrayal of princes, and if trust is violated it amounts to an insult shown to one's mother. So keep it confidential; more specially it is an unfathomable *Śāstra*; who ever finds its end? Even great sages become victims of mistakes; so Paṇḍits should not at random find fault with this book, for if one is bent upon detecting blemishes he will find many. This is the chronicle of the Swargadeos or kings of the Tungkhungiya dynasty. This history was written on Thursday, the twenty-second of Phālgun, on the *Pañcamī Tithi*."[2]

The chronicles are mutually corroborative and supplementary.

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1 The subject of Assamese historiography has been discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's *Ahomar Din*, pp. 89-92.

2 This chronicle is being translated into English by S. K. Bhuyan for the Assam Government.

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Inaccuracies and mis-statements are rare except those arising from scribal ignorance or idiosyncrasy. The portions relating to the conflicts with the Muhammadans are materially corroborated in the corresponding Persian chronicles.[1] Facts are mentioned accurately to the hour and the minute. We cite two instances from a manuscript chronicle, part of which was published in the first Assamese magazine, *Arunodoi* in 1852;

(i) "On Saturday, the 13th of Śrāvan, in the year 1565 *Śaka*, on the sixth *daṇḍa* at night, the queen said to the brother of the king—'It is your son who killed my son. I will slay him in turn. So bring him out.

(ii) "Not being able to disregard the request of the Dangarias (i.e., the three ministers), the Baruas and the other officers, the Kuonria prince ascended the throne on the morning of Saturday the 13th of Bhādra, *Śaka* 1560."

In the process of conserving the deeds of the people with a remarkable realism, the Buranjis have become endowed with human interest, instead of being dry-as-dust chronicles of court-events. We shall quote an example from a voluminous chronicle of the reign of Lakṣmī Siṃha, 1769-1780. A wordly-minded Vaiṣṇavite Ahom noble, being importuned to accept initiatory *mantras* from a Śākta Gosain or religious head, replied as follows:

"I am the son of an Ahom, what mantras have we got? We are all bewildered by the bait of worldliness. If we take mantras and sit down for a moment to utter them, the children will cry, the womenfolk of the house will break the silence of the atmosphere by their gossips, our retainers and tenants will give out a vociferous howl, commands will come from the king to proceed to his presence at once. So, how will one bring his mantras to perfection? So we, the sons of the Ahoms, have all agreed to cherish the religion as propounded in the Bhāgavat. So, why should we be offered the mantras?"

Patriotic utterances are not rare in these chronicles. The Moamaras, a Vaiṣṇava sect, were once insulted by a Śākta sovereign, Queen Phuleśvarī, consort regnant of Śiva Siṃha (1714-'44). They

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1 Some instances of the confirmation of Assamese accounts by Persian chronicles were mentioned in S. K. Bhuyan's *Mirjumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in the "Journal of Indian History", Dec., 1926.

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marshalled their forces and raised the standard of revolt, and thereby caused a civil war in the country which had a very disastrous consequence. Lakṣmī Siṃha fled from the capital and took shelter in an old fortress with his ministers and dependants. The nobles offered him two alternatives, one to surrender to the rebels and the other to proceed to Lower Assam with a view to collect an army to oust the insurgents. The Chief Executive Officer, Kīrticandra Barbarua championed the second proposal, and said:

"The duty of a Kṣatriya is to fight as long as there is life in his body. If victorious he enjoys the powers and blessings of sovereignty; if dead he goes to heaven. If he desists from fighting he earns disgrace in a life hereafter, while in this world he has to lead a life of subservience to others. As he has perpetually to carry out the commands of others, he becomes subjected to fright, humiliation and pain. He has to live in eternal solicitation of death. This is certainly a dire distress. When a king becomes subjected to the monarch of another country, diplomatic measures should be adopted so that the conqueror may return to his own kingdom. On his retirement the subdued prince should remain in preparedness with his army; and when opportunities present themselves for action he should act promptly and reinstate himself in his lost suzerain power .....The wicked have never consistently maintained their vows of friendship with the pious. The wicked have no forgiveness and piety. So none of the king's adherents will be spared by the rebels. If nothing untoward happens to His Majesty, he will at least have some mental anxiety and displeasure; his nobles and followers also will share the same; it will then be impossible for the king to collect adherents like ourselves. A person acquires a petty job by parting with large sums of money and other articles; still he is reluctant to give it up. If anybody asserts that the Moamaras will retire to the forest after attaining the position of a *Rāja-cakravartin*, Your Majesty should by no means believe in such words."[1]

The warning of the Barbarua was ignored, with the result that the rebels seized the persons of the king and his nobles, and ran the government in their name for some time. Kīrticandra was pressed to death under two wooden cylinders; and the country became plunged in anarchy and confusion.

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1 See *An Assamese Nur Jahan* by S. K. Bhuyan, reviewed in JRAS, July, 1927.

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Let us quote a patriotic speech uttered under more favourable circumstances. The western limit of the ancient Kāmarūpa was extended up to the river Karatoyā. In course of time Kāmarūpa became much reduced in size. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Ahoms chased the invader Turbak as far as the Karatoyā, but for diplomatic reasons the boundary was pushed further east, and rested on the river Mānaha, opposite Goālpārā. The greatest of the Ahom rulers, Rudra Siṃha, 1696-1714, cherished the ambition of restoring the limits of the once extensive kingdom of Kāmarūpa, and made colossal preparations for the same enterprise. We shall quote an extract from the proceedings of the war-council, convened specially to discuss the scheme, as we have got them recorded in a manuscript chronicle :

"Barpatra Gohain's speech : The territories bordering on the Karatoyā are ours. The enemies have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet (Nawarra) and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.

"The Buragohain then added :—The king's proposal is reasonable, and what the Barpatra Gohain says is equally reasonable. The ancestors of our king had, by virtue of their prowess and courage, crossed the boundaries of Rañgamatī, and washed their swords at the Karatoyā-Gañgā. They found it inconvenient to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karatoyā, so they made the river Manas the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhati. In the reign of Jayadhvaja Siṃha, there was an abundance of provisions and men, and still he earned the name of the *Deserting-King*.[1] Arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent; the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation, they alone can infuse into the immobile war-provisions a dynamic force."[2]

The Ahom conception of sovereignty is nowhere better illustrated

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1 Jayadhvaja Siṃha was the king of Assam during whose reign the country was overrun by the Moguls under Mirjumla. The king left the capital and took shelter in the hills of Namrup.

2 This extract was embodied in S. K. Bhuyan's *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in J.I.H., 1926, pp. 372-3.

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than in the speech made by Sonai Buragohain, the Prime minister, at the coronation of Pramatta Simha, 1744-51:

"The Barphukan led the new king by the hand to the throne, and said:—'The king's brother has now become the king. All people, assembled here including the Baruas and the Phukans should now bow down before the newly anointed king.' Then the assembly knelt before the king and paid their homage to him.

"The Buragohain then turned to the king and said,—"The Almighty God has conferred upon you the exalted office of a king. The affording of shelter to the pious, the punishment of the wicked, and vigilant investigation into the happiness and misery of your subjects, have now become your sole duty. Just as one sheltered by a huge tree becomes free from heat and rain, so during the kingship of your elder brother Your Majesty was not affected by the piety or sin of your subjects. From today God will hold you responsible for the virtue and wickedness of the creatures under your sway. Your Majesty will have to discriminate between actions which are good and those which produce evil."

The chronicles contain many accounts which are valuable to historians of Assam-Muhammadan conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of them are interspersed with copies of diplomatic letters that were exchanged between the Ahom and Mughal courts. Mir Jumla wrote to Aurangzeb:

From Dacca.—"Assam has occupied Kāmarūpa, and is contemplating to invade us. My scheme of subduing the country of the Maghs cannot be completed within a short time. So in the meantime I propose to invade Cooch Behar and Assam. I am awaiting the orders of the Emperor." Aurangzeb replied as follows,—"I want you to invade Cooch Behar and Assam and to consolidate our supremacy there."

I shall now reproduce an extract illustrating the diplomatic negotiations between the Mughal General Rama Simha and the Ahom commander Lacit Barphukan. According to the treaty concluded between Allah Yar Khan and Momai Tamuli Barbarua during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, Gauhati belonged to the Mughals. But after the departure of Mir Jumla, Gauhati was wrested back by the Ahoms. Rama Simha sent a message to Lacit to the following effect:

"The Phukan should remember the old treaty and give us back the fort of Gauhati. Then only the cows and the Brāhmaṇas will be saved.

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I am the son of Rājā Mukunda (Man Siṃha), and the Phukan is an exalted personage being the son of the Barbarua. If he has no war-provisions, let him write to me, and I will furnish him with the necessary materials. Anyhow our brother Phukan should give us a fight at least for an hour."

Having received the above message Lacit Phukan sent the following reply through the Mughal messenger Firuz Khan:

"Well Firuz Khan, tell my friend the Raja of Amber, that though he cites the authority of the treaty between Allah Yar Khan and my father the Barbarua, yet Gauhati and Kāmarūpa do not belong to the Mughals. We have taken possession of the place by turning out the Koches. It was through mere chance that it fell into the hands of the Mughals for a few seasons. Now God has given it back to us. When He pleases to give it to our brother-sovereign (Bhairaja) he will then get Gauhati, otherwise not. To his request for a fight for one hour, I would like to say that we are prepared to fight as long as there is life in our body. He has besides expressed his willingness to give us war-materials; he has come over long distance undergoing fatigue in his journey, and the provisions may be inadequate for his own purposes. Our Heavenly King has nothing unavailable for him. If the Rajput Raja has fallen short of articles, let him ask me and I will try to oblige him."

The engagements which ensued between the Mughals and Ahoms did not prove advantageous to the invaders. The battle of Saraighat witnessed the crushing defeat of the Mughal forces. Lacit Phukan, though in high fever, personally conducted the operations, and Ram Siṃha could not but give vent to his admiration for the manner in which the war was conducted.[1]

The above extracts translated literally from manuscript chronicles will convey some idea of the nature of their contents. They are written in Assamese prose of a very racy character, though Buranjis written in the now practically obsolete Ahom language are also met with here and there. The Vaiṣṇava literature of Assam is artistic in its style and subject-matter, but it does not throw much light on the actual life of the people except in an indirect manner. The Buranjis have enshrined the sorrows and sufferings of the people, which, when widely read, will be a revelation. There are amorous intrigues and courtly romances, idylls of pastoral life, outbursts of patriotism and

1 Vide *J.I.H.*, 1926, pp. 373-4.

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valour, critical analysis of complex political situations and epic descriptions of war and triumph. We only wish that our fellow-workers in and outside Assam had known more of these Buranjis, of which, not only the Assamese but all people of Hindustan may rightly feel proud.

Recently a list of the Buranjis was made, and their number came to one hundred and fifty. Besides, there are many more in the possession of the ancient families. Many Buranjis have been destroyed by fire and water. Kirticandra, the chief executive officer of Rājeśvara Siṃha, 1751-69, destroyed a large number suspected as having reference to his obscure descent.[1] The civil war of the Moamaras as well as the depredations of the Burmese devastated the country, and people left their homes and took shelter in forests or remote unaffected areas. This dislocation was responsible for the loss of many manuscripts and relics including chronicles. The numerous Buranjis which have survived these disasters only point to the very extensive scale on which they were used in the country.

3. *Chronicles of Countries outside Assam.*—The historical instinct of the Assamese people led them to take interest in the events of countries other than their own. So we have in Assam many chronicles throwing light on the history of neighbouring and remote countries. A chronicle of Burdwan was recovered some years ago and exhibited in a literary conference wherefrom it disappeared mysteriously.

By far the most noteworthy chronicles of this class are the Assamese histories of the Delhi Sultanate, dealing with the reigns of the greater Timurids, and their predecessors. They are commonly known as *Padshah-Buranjis*, and of them I have seen two and heard of two others. One of them is a manuscript in the possession of Lady Buckingham, the widow of Sir James Buckingham, some time Superintendent of the Amguri Tea Estates in Upper Assam, of which a transcript was prepared by Mr. B. Sarma some years ago for the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati; and the other was found by me in 1925 in the godown of the Gauhati branch of the American Baptist Mission, along with other chronicles of the Ahom reign.[2]

For historians of Muhammadan India the *Padshah-Buranjis* pre-

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1 This subject has been elaborately dealt with in S. K. Bhuyan's *History of Rājeśvar Singha, Bā̃hi*, vols. 15 and 16.

2 For a very detailed examination of the *Padshah-Buranjis*, see

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sent an unexplored field of materials. They were mainly compiled in the seventeenth century when Assam was invaded by the Mughals more frequently than before, their primary object being to acquaint the Assamese with the history and manners of the invaders, an intimate knowledge of which was an essential factor in encountering the enemy with success. The authors took as their materials the reports of reliable witnesses as well as written records. There is only one date mentioned, and the chronology is maintained by reference to the reigns of successive sovereigns which have no fear of being confused or misunderstood. One of the reporters whose testimony is embodied by the chronicler was Muhammad Ali of the territory of Siliman Padshah of Farranga-Bundar.[1] He was a great scholar, being highly proficient in Arabic and Persian *loghats* or vocabularies. He was a tutor to the children of Nawab Mansur Khan, who was Fauzadar of Gauhati from 1678 to 1682. Another reporter was Paramānanda Vairāgī of Gokulpur in Brindaban, who exercised almost a supernatural influence upon the Assamese king Udayāditya, 1670-73, during whose reign the Rajput General Rāma Siṃha invaded Assam. The author refers to some chronicles of the reign of Shah Jahan in the chapter devoted to that Emperor.

The language of the book is Assamese, but unlike other Buranjis, there is a large admixture of words of Arabic and Persian origin, which have been all used in their appropriate context, such as, *zabah, gor, khuda, nikah, tamam, vilayat, haramzada, haramkhor, takhth, fatiha doa-sapasi, takid, muzra, baghal, dakhil, padshah-hazrat, behaya, amal, inam, loghat, zahar, waqinavis, khan-khana, sipar-salah, amir-ul omrao, mansabdar, darbar, wazir, qazi, dewan, nazur-navis, panchhazari, dewankhas, amkhas, farman, sirpao,* etc.

The chronicle shows a wonderful knowledge, on the part of the author, of the traditions and customs of the Muhammadan world, which tempts us to think that he was either a Muhammadan scholar or a Hindu ambassador who visited Mughal courts in connection with the numerous embassies and diplomatic missions.

S. K. Bhuyan's *New Lights on Mughal India from Assamese Sources*, published in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, July 1928 to July 1929.

1 The chronicle gives a detailed account of Secunderabad, and its conquest by Siliman Padshah of Farranga-Bundar, who can be identified with Manucci's Siliman Khan, Governor of Porto Novo. Vide Irvine's edition of *Storia do Mogor*, vol. III, p. 370.

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The *Padshah-Buranjis* deal with the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy in India after the defeat of Pithor Raja. The conqueror introduces reforms into the system of administration, though he leaves social problems alone. The army is properly organised on the *mansabdari* system. During the reign of his successors Timur Lane invaded the country, he having risen to power through the mediation of a faquir. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of Timur's life as a shepherd in Central Asia. Not much is written about Babar. Humayun's throne is usurped by Sher Khan, afterwards Sher Shah. The Emperor flees to Persia, where the Sultan of that country takes the fugitive into his confidence after a series of trials which are fully described. The magnanimous Sher Shah retains the ex-Emperor's wife, Hamida Banu Begam or Miriam-Makkani, and Prince Akbar in their accustomed splendour. Humayun fails to regain his throne even with the help of Persian soldiers. Sher Shah invites Humayun to reoccupy his lost throne at Delhi, while he himself retires to Agra. The details of Akbar's reign are omitted. Jahangir conquers Secunderabad after long efforts. Its forts are impregnable, being surrounded by a moat as wide as a river where monstrous crocodiles and sea-horses were let loose which devoured the imperial soldiers. Shah Jahan interviews Prithive Shah of Kandour, whose country was one of the most prosperous kingdoms of India. The Emperor peacefully distributes power among his four sons, but they subvert the arrangement in no time. Mumtaz Mahal, afraid of the inevitable sight of a fratricidal conflict among her spirited sons, dies by self-immolation. Aurangzeb slays Dara and Murad and ascends the throne. His chief helper in his ambitious design was Mir Jumla who had given the prince 18 crores of rupees. Mir Jumla, son of Mirza Hazru, exasperates his master, the Sultan of Golkunda. The Nawab flees from the Deccan and joins Aurangzeb. On the latter's ascension to the throne of Delhi, the Nawab is deputed with the Emperor's son to pursue Sultan Shuja. The prince accompanying Mir Jumla deserts his rank, and joins Shuja whose daughter he marries. Mir Jumla then marches against Cooch Behar and Assam without express orders from the Emperor, as he thinks that the Arakan campaign could not be undertaken immediately, and his army would be better employed in the meantime in an expedition against Assam whose ruler had encroached upon Mughal territory and re-occupied Gauhati. The Emperor ratifies the action of the Nawab. The general compels the Assam Raja to enter

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into a treaty favourable to the invaders, and returns with large treasures and a princess for his Imperial Master but he dies on his way. His son Masudami Khan (Md. Amin Khan) appears before the Emperor who expresses *sincere* regret at the death of such a great general. The account of Mir Jumla is vivified by human touches. As commanded by Aurangzeb he interviews the Emperor's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, Governor of Bengal. In the interview Mir Jumla is discourteously treated by Shaista Khan, being given presents worthy of a panch-hazari Nawab. Mir Jumla came home broken-hearted and said to his confidants,—"The reputation which I have acquired during these seventy years of my life has all been smashed in the hands of Shaista Khan." Later on when Mir Jumla was taken to task for the desertion of the prince to the camp of Shuja, the Nawab replied to the Emperor,—"I would like to inform His Imperial Majesty, that if I, Mir Jumla, only shake the sleeves of my cloak, dozens of such Padshah-jadas will come out instantly"! Prominence has been given to Mir Jumla by the chronicler because he was the most outstanding figure in the Assam-Mughal relations of those days.

A chapter is devoted to the Nawabs of Dacca, Man Singha, Mushaf Khan, Burhan Khan Koka, Islam Khan, Ajam Khan, Sultan Shuja, Shaista Khan, Fede Khan Koka, and the Prince Azamtara, the son of the Emperor. The last of them neglects the duties of government, spending most of his time in sports. He loses the jewel of his head which is most ominous. The Sultan attempts to gag the waqinavis but fails. The Prince deputes Mansur Khan to wrest Gauhati from its treacherous viceroy Laluk Barphukan.

The careers of the three Rajas, Man Singha or Māndhātā, Mirza Jaya Siṃha and Rāma Siṃha of Amber are described in full. Man Singha fights most of the battles of Akbar and Jahangir, which were directed against refractory Hindu rulers. He sees through the motive which goads his Imperial masters to keep him always engaged in war. Jaya Siṃha subjugates Eastern India after a long struggle. The Raja of Cooch Behar agrees to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees to the Emperor during the Naoroz celebrations, which afford an opportunity to the chronicler to paint the gaiety and splendour of the occasion. Jaya Siṃha's ultimatums to refractory princes were worded as follows :

"Have you heard of the prowess of Emperor Shah Jahan? Have you also heard the rattling of my invincible sword as well as that

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of Māndhātā? If you have, then come promptly and seek our friendship; or otherwise be prepared for war."

After a protracted campaign where Muhammadan generals could not achieve much success, the Rajput prince was deputed against Kandarpa Siṃha, the Raja of Sewa. The royal hero attended the Mughal court, and gave the following reply to Aurāṅgzeb's proposal for submission: "I cannot deviate from my determination to shake off your vassalage, nor can I accept your proposal even on pain of death."[1] Rāma Siṃha, the host of the undaunted chief, came to the latter's rescue. A son was born to Rāma Siṃha; on that occasion he used to send out presents in big boxes of copper and brass. He released Sewa Raja, put him in a box and sent him back to his kingdom. Rāma Siṃha did the same with the Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur, for whom the former was a surety. The Emperor said to himself—"Rāma Siṃha's actions have become intolerable. But I cannot take any drastic measure against him remembering what his forefathers have done for our Empire. There is also the fear that if Rāma Siṃha is punished, he may organise a Rajput clique which will be disastrous to us." The Emperor deputed Rāma Siṃha to Assam to die in the midst of its poisonous waters, noxious airs and forest-covered hills. The Rajput prince is received very cordially at Dacca by Shaista Khan, an intimate friend of Mirza Raja Jaya Siṃha.

Besides the narrative details we have specifications of distances from Delhi and Agra to important places in Mughal India; the names of the Rajput-Marhatta chiefs who formed a confederacy under Jaya Siṃha II or Sewai Jaya Siṃha of Amber, including Mulahar Rao Holkar, with their quota of soldiers, camels, horses and elephants; and the letters that passed between Jahangir and the rebellious prince Khurram, between Shah Jahan and the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur, including the famous letter on the receipt of which the Bijapur captains cried words of defiance ending in the despatch of a haughty reply to the Emperor.[2]

Writing on Muhammadan history in a remote corner of India,

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1 The chronicler has evidently combined here the story of Rajah Karan Bhurtiyah of Bikaner, and Śivājī, against both of whom Aurangzeb deputed Jaya Siṃha. Raja Karan was himself sent against Śivājī. See Irvine's *Manucci*, vol. II, pp. 22-23.

2 J. N. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I, p. 256.

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our chronicler has committed mistakes here and there. Jalal Hussain is mentioned as the ruler of India during whose time Timur invaded India. We all know it was Muhammad Tughlak. This mistake is due to the confusion with Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, the Keiani prince of Sistan whose army was routed by Timur, during which engagement the conqueror received a wound in his foot which was permanently crippled, and for which he was called Timur-langa or Timur the Lame.[1] Humayun is described as having lost his throne, being ousted by Sher Khan, a slave of a Nawab. Before occupying the throne Sher Khan had to fight several battles with the Emperor, but he could not succeed till an old woman taught him the proper method of attack from the analogy of a dish which must be eaten from the sides and not from the middle. We read in Manucci,—"The old woman laughed heartily, and at the same time taught him (Timur *incognito*) a good lesson, saying, 'You are like Taimur-i-lang, who did not know how to take this counry, for he came right into the middle of it, and had to go out again defeated. If he had begun by attacking the confines, he could in time have made himself master of the whole."[2]

I feel very strongly that if workers in the field of Muhammadan history had access to the virgin materials embodied in the Assamese *Padshah-Buranjis*, they could much appreciate them. They were written from a detached quarter with the help of materials which may be now lost. The testimony of reporters like Muhammad Ali and Gakulpuri would have been recorded in the pages of historians like Minhaj-i-Siraj Jurjani, Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah and Muhammad Amin bin Abu'l Hasan Qazwini, where frequent references are made to the report of reliable witnesses.

Conclusion.—But Assam suffers by being curiously reticent about her past achievements. She is not vocal, and there is not that atmosphere here which leads to cultural intercourse with other countries. The antiquity of Assamese prose literature was unheard of even in Bengal till 1919, when Sir P. C. Roy, after returning from a tour in Assam introduced the fact to his countrymen. Who ever heard of the martyred Princess Jayamatī before it was broadcast throughout the length of India from the pavilion at Pāṇḍavanagar in Dec. 1926? Kāmarūpa played an important part in the history of Nor-

1 Sykes, *Persia*, vol. II.

2 Irvine's ed. of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 100.

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thern India. The Emperor Harṣavardhana was proud of the friendship of Kumāra Bhāskaravarman. According to Yuan-Chwang the Kumāra king was himself a man of learning. The colleges of Kāmarūpa attracted students from all quarters. A special school of *Smṛtis* had devoloped here fostered by the penetrating genius of Kāmarūpa Brāhmaṇas. The *Tantras* are said to have originated here as a result of the reconciliation between the demands of the illiterate tribes and the gentle concessions of their Brāhmaṇical neighbours. Assam was one of the few provinces in India which could successfully stem the tide of Mughal invasion. All this is not a mere matter of chance. There was as its strong foundation a culture which permeated the life of the people and which raised the average man to a superior level endowed with a consciousness of patriotism which would never desert him even under the severest temptations. But the glories of Kāmarūpa remain buried because no vigorous investigations have been launched here to discover the treasures and reveal them to the rest of India which may as well be proud of the same.

The fact that the Hindus of Kāmarūpa possess a systematic record of events, which is historical in the true sense of the word, will be of the greatest interest to Indian scholars. It may not be comparative and critical, but it states the bare truth without any embellishment or attempt to hide it. Foul deeds as well as good ones are recorded in all their particulars. Neither the king nor his nobles are spared if they ever perpetraed a wicked deed. A family history written under its auspices is likely to be marked by undue colouring, but contemporary chronicles written in impartial and neutral quarters will help us to test the veracity of the former. Systematic attempts should have been made to publish Buranjis, but hitherto only one Buranji has been published through the efforts of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati.[1]

SURYYA KUMAR BHUYAN

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1 It may be mentioned that the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, recently established by the Assam Government, with Mr. A. H. W. Bentinck, I.C.S., M.A., (Oxon), C.I.E. as Honorary Provincial Director and Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., M.A. (Oxon) and Prof. S. K. Bhuyan M.A., B.L. as Honorary Assistant Directors, is publishing a number of old Assamese *Buranjis*, edited in the most up-to date fashion.

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The Scope and Development of the Hindu Gaṇita

Modern Classification of the Gaṇita: Bhāskara

The *Gaṇita* means the "Science of Calculation". According to the celebrated Hindu astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarācārya (born 1114 A. C.) it has two main branches: *Pāṭīgaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation of the Board") and *Bījagaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation with Elements"). They are also respectively called *Vyakta-gaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation with Knowns") and *Avyakta-gaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation with Unknowns"). The latter corresponds to modern algebra and the former includes arithmetic and geometry (with mensuration).

Ancient Classification

The term *gaṇita* as the name of a science is a very ancient one. It occurs copiously in the Vedic literature. The *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (*c.* 1200 B. C.) gives it the highest place of honour amongst all the sciences which form the *Vedāṅga* (or "Member of the Veda"). "As are the crests on the heads of peacocks, as the gems on the hoods of snakes, so is the *gaṇita* at the top of the sciences known as *Vedāṅga*."[1] There are altogether six *Vedāṅgas*, namely, (1) *śikṣā* ("the science of proper articulation and pronunciation"), (2) *chandas* ("the science of prosody"), (3) *vyākaraṇa* ("grammar"), (4) *nirukta* ("etymological explanation of difficult Vedic words"), (5) *jyotiṣa* ("astronomy") and (6) *kalpa* ("ritual or ceremonial"). *Gaṇita* was then same as *jyotiṣa* and *jyotiṣa* has been defined as "the science of calculation of the time" (*kāla-vijñānaśāstra*).[2] The sacrifice was the prime religious avocation of the Vedic Hindus. The culture of astronomy was chiefly needed to fix the proper time for the sacrifice. The *Kalpa-sūtra* contains, besides other matters of ritual, the rules for the proper construction of sacrificial altars. It was perhaps in this connection that the

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1 *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, 4:

यथा शिखा मयूराणां नागानां मणयो यथा।
तद्वेदाङ्गशास्त्राणां गणितं मूर्द्धनि स्थितम्॥

2 *Ibid.*, 3.

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study of problems of geometry, as also arithmetic and algebra, began in ancient India. Geometry was then, indeed, the science of altar-construction. The *Śulva-sūtra* (literally, "The Rules of the Cord" meaning no doubt "the measuring tape") which embodies the knowledge of geometry that the Vedic Hindus had, form a part of the *Kalpa-sūtra*. We thus find that in Vedic India, astronomy on the one hand, and geometry on the other were being cultivated under different circumstances, by different classes of priests having different duties apportioned to them. Arithmetic (including algebra) of course formed necessary adjunct of each. Hence the science of the *gaṇita* in its early stage included astronomy, arithmetic and algebra, but not geometry. It is not improbable that rudiments of geometry, at least so much of it as was indispensable for astronomical purposes, were included in the *gaṇita*. It is not unusual, especially in olden days, to find an element of repetition, oftentimes a lack of proper co-ordination amongst the sciences developing under different circumstances and having different immediate objects before them. However, in those days the *gaṇita* seems to have been classified into two branches, astronomy and arithmetic (including algebra, probably also elementary geometry). In a detailed list of the sciences enumerated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[1] the former has been specified, very appropriately, as *nakṣatra-vidyā* ("The Science of Knowledge of the Stars") and the latter branch as *rāśi-vidyā* ("The Science of Knowledge of the Numbers"). In the Jaina canonical literature, we have the names *jyotiṣa* and *saṃkhyāna* ("the Science of Numbers") or *gaṇita* and they have always been called *Brāhmaṇa-śāstra*[2]

Value and Importance of Gaṇita

It is ordinarily said that in ancient India no science did ever attain an independent existence and was cultivated for its own sake. Whatever of any science is found in Vedic India, is supposed to have originated and grown as the handmaid of the one or the other of the six "members of the Veda", and consequently with the primary object of helping the Vedic rituals. It is also supposed sometimes that any further culture of a science was somewhat discouraged by the Vedic Hindus in suspicion that they might prove hindrance to their great quest of the knowledge of the supreme by diverting the mind to

1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 2, 4.

2 For instance see *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 90; *Kalpa-sūtra*, sūtra 11.

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other external channels. That is not indeed a correct view on the whole. It is perhaps true in the earlier Vedic age that sciences grew as help to religion. But it is generally found that the interest of the people in a particular branch of knowledge, in all climes and times, has always been aroused and guided by specific reasons. Religion being the most prime avocation of the earlier Vedic Hindus, it is not unnatural that the culture of other branches of knowledge grew as help to it and was kept subsidiary. But there is evidence to show that in course of time all the sciences outgrew their original purposes and were being cultivated for their own sake. A new orientation had indeed set in in the later part of the Vedic age. There is a story in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[1] whose value in support of our view cannot be overestimated. It throws a good deal of light on the kind and value of sciences known amongst the Hindus of the time. It is said that once upon a time the sage Nārada approached the sage Sanatkumāra and begged of him the *Brahma-Vidyā* or the "Supreme Knowledge." Sanatkumāra asked Nārada to state first what sciences and arts he had already studied so that he (Sanatkumāra) might judge what still remained to be learnt by him. Thereupon Nārada enumerated the various sciences and arts studied by him. This list includes astronomy (*nakṣatra-vidyā*) and arithmetic (*rāśi-vidyā*). Now Nārada is not known to have ever led a family or worldly life. He was from childhood an earnest seeker of the supreme knowledge, the Science of all sciences. So it cannot be explained that Nārada had learnt astronomy, arithmetic and other sciences during a family life. Whatever he learnt, he did so with the sole intention and belief that it would help him towards his great goal. It is thus found that in ancient India, the culture of the science of mathematics, or of any other branch of what we now call secular knowledge, was not considered to be a hindrance to what we designate as spiritual knowledge. In fact, *aparāvidyā* (secular knowledge) was then clearly considered to be a helpful adjunct of the *parā-vidyā* (supreme knowledge).[2] Importance to the culture of the *gaṇita* is also given by the Jainas. Their religious literature is generally classified into four branches, called *anuyogas*, meaning "the exposition of the principles." One of them is *gaṇitānuyoga* or "the exposition of the principles of mathematics" necessary in Jainism. The knowledge of *saṃkhyāna* (literally, "the science of numbers," meaning arithmetic)

1 Loc. cit. 2 *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, i, 1, 3-5

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and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy) is stated to be one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest.[1] It is laid down in the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*[2] that the king must show honours to astronomers before entering the court. In the Buddhist and canonical literature, arithmetic (*gaṇanā*, *saṃkhyāna*) is regarded as the first and the noblest of the arts.[3] But the Buddhist monks were advised to refrain from the study of astronomy.[4] All these will give a fair idea of the importance and value set upon the culture of *gaṇita* in ancient India.

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1 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 90 ; *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, xxv, 7,8,38.

It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy and arithmetic is considered necessary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it is for the Vedic priest viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. Thus it is observed by Śāntichandragaṇa (1595 A.C.) in the preface to his commentary on the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*: "गृह्यगणितसिद्धे प्रशस्ते काले गृहीतानि प्रशस्तफलानि सुराः, कालश्च ज्योतिश्चाराधीनः, स च जम्बुद्वीपादिक्षेत्राधीनव्यवस्थस्तेनायं कालापर-पर्य्यायो गणितानुयोगः"।

2 i, 20.

3 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. IV, p. 7 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I, p. 85 ; *Cullaniddesa*, p. 199.

4 Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. II, pp. 20ff. where astronomy and astrology have been condemned as "low arts" (*tiracchāna vijjā*) as far as bhikṣus are concerned. He more especially condemned astrology (*Cullavagga*, V, 33,3 in *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, xx, p. 152). Later on he relaxed his opinion and made it a rule of conduct for the Bhikṣus dwelling in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy. The incident which compelled him to change his mind is this : Once upon a time some thieves approached certain Bhikṣus living in the forest and asked them, "with what constellation is the moon now in conjunction ?" The Bhikṣus could give no answer as they were forbidden by religious injunction to learn astronomy. This incensed the thieves, who took the Bhikṣus to be thieves, beat them and went away. When Buddha came to know of this unfortunate incident, he made the following rule : "They (*Bhikṣus* living in forests) should learn the stations of the constellations, either in whole or in parts, and they should know the directions of the sky." (Culla vagga, viii, 6,3 in *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, xx, pp. 292-4).

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Gaṇita in Hindu Education

The elementary stage in Hindu education lasted from the age of five till the age of twelve. This period slightly differed in the case of the sons of kings and noblemen. The main subjects of study were *lipi* or *lekhā* (alphabets, reading and writing), *rūpa* (drawing and geometry) and *gaṇanā* (arithmetic). It is said in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya that "having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet (*lipi*) and arithmetic (*saṃkhyāna*)."[1] We find in the Hathigumpha Inscriptions that the king Khāravela of Kaliṅga spent nine years (from the age of sixteen to twenty-five) learning *lekhā*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā*.[2] Prince Gotama began his education when he was eight years of age with "firstly writing, then arithmetic as the most important of the seventy-two sciences and arts".[3] There is a very interesting story in the Buddhist *Vinaya Piṭaka* having a bearing upon this matter. The parents of the celebrated sage Upāli once began to deliberate what sort of education they should give to their boy. They ascertained that an education in reading and writing, arithmetic and drawing (*lekhā*, *rūpa*, *gaṇanā*) would certainly increase the prospect of the boy in after life, but they apprehended that such an education might result in the physical malady of the boy in the way that writing might cause the disease of the fingers, arithmetic of the breast, and drawing of the eyes. The commentator Buddhaghoṣa remarks in this connection: "He who learns arithmetic must think much; therefore his breast will become diseased."[4]

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1 *Arthaśāstra* edited by R. Shama Sastri, i, 5, 2 (Eng. trans., p. 10).

2 *Hathigumpha and three other Inscriptions*, edited by Bhagawan Lal Indrajī, p. 22.

3 *Antagaḍa dasāo and Anuttaravavāiya-dasāo*, English translation by L. D. Barnett, 1907, p. 30. Compare *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, sūtra 212.

4 *Mahāvagga*, i, 49; *Bhikkhupācittiya*, lxvii. Compare *Lalita Vistara* (x, xii) about Buddha's primary education.

Mention of *lekhā*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā* is found also in the Jaina canonical works, e.g., *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, sūtra 72.

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Renaissance in Hindu Mathematics: supposed Greek Influence

Sometimes before the beginning of the Christian era, there was a renaissance of the Hindu *Gaṇita*. There is a great difference of opinions about the time of the beginning of this renaissance. Previous writers have generally taken it to be *c.* 400 A.C. Leaving aside that question for the present, we shall draw attention to another point. All the modern historians of mathematics are almost unanimous in presuming that this revival in Hindu mathematics is due to the Greek contact. Kaye says, "Subsequent to the *Śulvasūtras* nothing further isrecorded until the introduction into India of western astronomical ideas."[1] Here the implication is obvious. "This change[2] was possibly due", says Smith, "to the influence of Greek scholars whose works might still have been appreciated by the descendants of the ancient Greeks who settled in India after Alexander's time".[3] Though Cajori is aware that it is difficult to trace the relation between Hindu and Greek mathematics, still he thinks that "the second period of Hindu mathematics probably originated with an influx from Alexandria of western astronomy".[4] Now in the opinion of competent authorities, the contact of Hindu astronomy with Greek astronomy began in the fourth century of the Christian era.[5] It will be shown subsequently as we proceed that the renaissance in Hindu mathematics began long before that time. There are also other reasons to reject the hypothesis of Greek contact.

Greek Astronomy in India : A Difficult Tangle

Let us divert for a moment to the subject of migration of the Greek astronomy to India. This has an important bearing on the subject-matter of our present study inasmuch as it has been made, as we have just seen, a basis for a fresh conjecture about the migration of Greek mathematics to India. Now while believing in general the Greek influence on the scientific Hindu astronomy the

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1 G. R. Kaye, *Indian Mathematics*, Calcutta, 1915, p. 9.
2 That is, the revival after the *Śulvasūtra* period.
3 D.E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, p. 145, 2nd ed. 1922.
4 F. Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, p. 84 ; also p. 83.
5 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 385.

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Indologists have differed to a very considerable extent as regards the nature and extent of the transmission of astronomical knowledge. Their difficulty in this respect was caused by the fact that the Hindu astronomy differs materially from the astronomy of Ptolemy and his disciples, quite contrary to what could be reasonably expected. From a thorough discussion of all those matters, Whitney had to conclude that it was the pre-Ptolemian Greek astronomy of Hipparchus that was transmitted to India.[1] But such a theory is confronted with a difficulty of a different kind. For, competent authorities are of opinion that the first transmission of the Greek astronomy to India took place in the fourth century of the Christian era. The question then naturally arises, how it is that the Hindu astronomers took inspiration from the earlier crude works in disregard of the contemporary and improved scientific treatises? Attempts have been made by Biot followed by Thibaut to explain this weakness of the previous theory by supposing that the Greek astronomy was transmitted to India not through scientific treatises but through manuals used by Greek astrologers and calender-makers. The astronomical knowledge in the works of those classes were presumed to have been rather imperfect and to have diverged in more than one point from the theories propounded in the scientific treatises. These are very ingenious arguments indeed, but they are purely speculative and also far from being convincing. Assuming that the Indians were attracted to Greek astronomy through the manuals of the astrologers and calender-makers though there is no evidence for it, the question may be asked, what prevented them from the pursuit of further and more accurate information about the subject? Communication between the two countries did not stop about that time. On the other hand it was more active then. Opportunities of obtaining such information were better about that time. For there were Greek settlements just on the borders of India. Dogmatic assertion of Kaye and others of his ilk do not help us in the least to get out of this tangle. All these considerations make the theory of Greek influence on Hindu astronomy of doubtful value. At least, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that the theory is not well grounded. P. C. Sengupta, who has thoroughly re-examined the whole subject in a recent paper says: "All these considerations lead the writer of this thesis altogether to reject and discredit

1 Whitney, *Sūryasiddhānta*, pp. 470 ff.
2 Thibaut and Dvivedi, *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, Introduction, pp. 41 ff.

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the hypothesis so long so persistently asserted by the European researchers that Indian astronomy was actually derived from Greek source. If Indian astronomy is to be held indebted to any foreign system of astronomy that was the Babylonian—the fountain-head from which both the systems took their rise".[1]

My intention in referring to this complex situation is not to dispute the hypothesis of the Greek contact with the Hindu astronomy. Indeed, there is incontrovertible evidence of foreign contact, Greek or Babylonian. But I intend to point out to those who take it as an argument in support of launching a fresh theory of Greek influence on Hindu mathematics, how slender is that basis of their argument. If the manuals which brought Greek astronomy to India are presumed to be neither extensive nor intensive so as to have contained the advanced ideas in their own special subject of treatment, how can they be said to have contained the teachings in other branches of mathematics ?

Effect on the Gaṇita

Whatever be the cause of the revival, its effect on the scope of the science of the *Gaṇita* was great. Astronomy separated out

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1 P. C. Sengupta, Āryabhaṭa—the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. xviii. Vide also a paper on "Alleged Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy" by Sukumar Ranjan Das., I. H. Q., March, 1928.

I sometimes venture to think that the renaissance in the Hindu astronomy is entirely indigenous. It began before the transmission of Greek or Babylonian astronomical knowledge into India. Indeed, the foreign connection itself seems to have come in the wake of the renaissance but was not the cause of it. Before that connection, the Hindu astronomy had sufficiently reformed itself out of its earlier crude knowledge and had set up its own ideas and theories, as also its own methods of observation and calculation. So that when it came in touch with the foreign astronomical science, it picked up as much from it as it could profitably assimilate without losing its own individual character. This theory will be corroborated by the strong virility of the Hindu astronomical culture which could thoroughly Hinduise, even beyond recognition, whatever of the Babylonian or Alexandrian science was transmitted to India (H. Kern, Preface to his edition of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 49).

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came to be ordinarily known by the name *Jyotiṣa*. Geometry which formerly belonged to a separate group of sciences, viz., the *Kalpa-sūtra*, came to be regarded as an integral part of the *Gaṇita*. Thus the readjusted science of the *Gaṇita* consisted mainly of arithmetic, algebra and geometry. It is not easy to say whether the science of trigonometry (so far as it means the science containing the idea of the function of an angle) was discovered by that time ; probably it was. It also came within the scope of the *Gaṇita*. The *Gaṇita* was sometimes called, especially amongst the Jainas and Buddhists, by the name *saṃkhyāna* (literally meaning the "Science of Numbers").

Āryabhaṭa and Mahāvīra

It is in its wider range, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry, that Āryabhaṭa (*c.* 476 A.C.) considers the science of the *Gaṇita*. His treatise on the subject forms the second book of his astronomical treatise, the *Āryabhaṭīya*[1] (499 A.C.), and it contains topics from all those branches of mathematics. The *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*[2] ("Collection of the Essence of the Gaṇita") of Mahāvīra (*c.* 850 A.C.) contains mainly topics from arithmetic and geometry. There is nothing of trigonometry in it. Though certain problems for solution require the help of algebraic analysis, there is no treatment of topics of algebra proper, except the positive and negative quantities and the Indeterminate analysis (*Kuṭṭaka*) of the first degree. This latter subject is generally found included in the Hindu treatises on arithmetic, though it is admitted to belong properly to Algebra. This leads to the strong presumption that Mahāvīra considers the scope of the *Gaṇita* to be restricted to arithmetic and geometry. There is absolutely no doubt that he excluded *Jyotiṣa* from its scope. In a detailed list of the subjects for which the knowledge of the science of the *Gaṇita* is considered to be indispensable, Mahāvīra has enumerated the various topics of astronomy : "In relation to the movements of the sun and other heavenly bodies, in connection with the eclipse and the conjunction of planets, and in connection with the *tripraśna*[3] and the course of the moon, indeed in

1 *Āryabhaṭīyam*, ed. Kern, Leipzig, 1874.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* edited with English translation by M. Rangacarya, Madras, 1912.

3 *Tripraśna* is the name of a chapter in Sanskrit astronomical

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all these (connections) it [*Gaṇita*] is utilised."[1] Again, referring to the treatment of shadow problems, which is ordinarily included in the Hindu *Gaṇita*, Mahāvīra remarks that it properly belongs to the department of practical calculation in astronomy."[2] All these prove the *Gaṇita* to be separate from the *Jyotiṣa* in his opinion.

Śrīdhara

Śrīdhara's (*c.* 750 A.C.) specification of the scope of the *Gaṇita* seems to be nearly the same as that of Mahāvīra. Only a short treatise by him is available to us at present. It is the *Pāṭī-gaṇita-sāra* ("Essence of the *Pāṭī-gaṇita*"). This book is more known as *Triśatikā* as it contains 300 verses.[3] This latter name must have been given to it by some later mathematician, not by the author. For that name occurs nowhere in the original text. We learn it on the authority of Bhāskara that Śrīdhara had also written a treatise on algebra. Bhāskara has not only acknowledged his indebtedness to Śrīdhara's *Vījagaṇita* but has actually quoted from this work a rule for the solution of quadratic equations.[4] That rule is not found in the existing work of Śrīdhara which contains only topics from arithmetic and geometry. Hence there cannot be any doubt that Śrīdhara considered the *Pāṭī-gaṇita* and the *Vīja-gaṇita* as separate, and wrote separate treatises on each.

Brahmagupta

Four chapters and a half of Brahmagupta's (628 A. C.) big astronomical treatise, *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*[5], are devoted to the treatment of topics of mathematics. Chapter xii, called the *Gaṇita* (or the

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works dealing with problems connected with the direction, position and time of the heavenly bodies, and hence the name.

1 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, i, 12.

2 *Ibid.* i. 23

3 *Triśatikā* of Śridharācārya, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1899.

4 *Vījagaṇita of Bhāskara*, *Avyaktavarga-Karaṇa* ; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra* pp. 209-10, 275.

5 *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1912. Chapters xii and xviii of this work have been translated into English by Colebrooke in his *Hindu Algebra*.

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pāṭī-gaṇita), treats of subjects belonging properly to arithmetic and geometry. Chapter xviii, called the *Kuṭṭaka*, contains discussion of almost all the matters included in Bhāskara's algebra. Chapter xix deals with the sun-dial and shadow problems which have also been partly treated in chapter xii. Chapter xx, entitled "Supplement to the Chandaściti," is devoted to that subject. Finally a part of chapter xxi is devoted to the construction of the table of sines. This portion really belongs to trigonometry. There are reasons to believe that Brahmagupta considers arithmetic (with geometry), algebra and trigonometry as different subjects and he names them respectively as the *Gaṇita* (or the *Pāṭī-gaṇita*), the *Kuṭṭaka*(*-gaṇita*) and the *Jyotpatti* (*-gaṇita*). Firstly, in the concluding lines of his chapter on the *Gaṇita* (ch. xii), Brahmagupta observes: "This is only one direction (or aspect), the others I shall say in the 'construction of the sine' and in the '*Kuṭṭaka*'."[1] This remark clearly shows that the subject-matter of the chapter was considered by the writer to be quite separate from the other two. Secondly, it is the usual practice with Brahmagupta to state in the opening verse of each and every chapter the usefulness of the subject-matter of that chapter. The importance and utility of the *Kuṭṭaka* (*-gaṇita*) has been spoken of by Brahmagupta in almost the identical language as has been used by Bhāskara in his *Bījagaṇita*.[2] This

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1 *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xii, 66. The original text is दिङ्मात्रमेतदन्यज्ज्योत्पत्तौ कुट्टके च कथयिष्ये. Colebrooke renders it as: "This is a portion only of the subject. The rest will be delivered under the construction of sines and under the pulverizer." *Dṛk* literally means "direction," "aspect," not "part."

2 Brahmagupta says:

प्रायेण यतः प्रश्नाः कुट्टाकारादृते न शक्यन्ते ।
ज्ञातुं वक्ष्यामि ततः कुट्टाकारं सह प्रश्नैः ॥ *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xviii, 1.

"Since questions can scarcely be known without the *Kuṭṭaka*, therefore I will speak of *Kuṭṭaka* with problems."

3 Bhāskara says:—

* * * प्रायः प्रश्ना न विनाव्यक्तयुक्त्या
ज्ञातुं शक्या मन्दधीभिर्नितान्तं यस्मात्तस्माद्वच्मि बीजक्रियाञ्च । Bījagaṇita, 2.

"* * * since questions can scarcely be known without the reasoning of the *Avyakta* (*-gaṇita*),—not at all by those of dull perceptions, therefore I shall speak of the *Bījakriyā* (the operations of analysis).

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leads to the strong presumption that what has been implied by the *Kuṭṭakagaṇita* by one, has been done by the name *Bījagaṇita* by the other. Thirdly, in the beginning of each of the chapters on the *gaṇita* and the *kuṭṭaka*, Brahmagupta has clearly defined the range of topics of each. This process has not been followed by him in the rest of his great treatise. This fact will lead to the conclusion that they were separate treatises of mathematics incorporated into a treatise of astronomy as is usual with the Hindu scholars. All these taken together will justify the correctness of our belief. There is another matter which deserves more than a passing notice. The *kuṭṭaka* is only one topic of the science of algebra and it corresponds to the modern indeterminate analysis of the first degree. The question which naturally arises is, why Brahmagupta called the whole science after it. The terms *avyakta* and *bīja* were not unknown to him.[1] But they have not lent their names to the science, though it would have been very proper. The reason for this seems to be that the solution of the indeterminate analysis of the first degree was once considered to be the most important achievement of the analytical science. A discussion of the origin of the term *kuṭṭaka* will be beyond the scope of this paper.

Āryabhaṭa II

Āryabhaṭa II (*c.* 950 A.C.) mentions separately the names of three branches of mathematics, viz., the *pāṭī*, *kuṭṭaka* and *bīja*.[2] Chapter xv of his treatise, *Mahā-siddhānta*, contains the *pāṭī-gaṇita* and chapter xvii deals with the *kuṭṭaka*. The range of topics of his *pāṭī-gaṇita* is the same as that of Śrīdhara. There is practically no treatment of the *bīja-gaṇita* or of any topics properly belonging to it, if the *kuṭṭaka* has not been meant by it. There is a very noteworthy observation in this connection from the pen of the eminent mathematician Gaṇeśa (c. 1545). As a commentator of Bhāskara's mathematical works, Gaṇeśa was a believer in the division of the science of the *gaṇita* into two main branches the *pāṭī* and the *bīja*. Therefore he thinks that the separate mention of the *kuṭṭaka* by Āryabhaṭa II was meant as an intimation of the difficulty and importance of this branch of analysis, but not to indicate it as the subject for a separate treatise.[3]

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1 Vide *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*. 2 *Mahāsiddhānta*, i, 1.

3 Commentary on *Līlāvatī*; compare Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, pp. 112, 113, footnote.

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Hindu Geometry of the early Renaissance Period

One very noticeable feature of the renaissance of Hindu mathematics is that it left the culture of geometry least affected. We have already seen how in the course of that revival, the science of geometry was separated from the *Kalpasūtra* and was incorporated into the science of *gaṇita*. But compared with arithmetic and algebra, it seems to have received little impetus for further progress and development. Indeed, the early Hindus are found to have devoted their attention more and more to the analytical branch of mathematics than to the geometrical branch. Consequently the Hindu geometry which started in a brilliant way, being not only much in advance of the contemporary Egyptian or Chinese geometry but also in anticipating some of the notable discoveries of the posterior Greek geometry, did not make as much head-way as it ought to have done like the other branches of mathematics.[1] It cannot be said that the study of geometry was completely neglected by the Hindus of the early period of the renaissance. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that it was cultivated for its own sake apart from any ritualistic motive. It even came to be regarded as a part of general education of the people, not excepting even elementary education[2]. Above all, we find it in an early Jaina canonical work (composed about 300 B. C. or still earlier) that great importance was given then to the culture of geometry. It says: "Geometry is the lotus in mathematics,.....and the rest is inferior."[3] Hence it appears still more strange not to find any evidence of progress and improvements in geometry. The notable contributions of this period to geometry are the discovery of (1) ellipse, (2) elliptic cylinder, (3) the value $\pi = \sqrt{10}$ and (4) some mensuration formulæ. The value $\pi = \sqrt{10}$, though not an accurate one, is an improvement upon the value known in the *Śulva-sūtra*. This value occurs as early as in the *Sūryaprajñapti* (C. 500 B. C.).[4] The ellipse and elliptic cylinder were also discovered about the same time. The ellipse

1 Bibhutibhusan Datta, "*Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*," *Bulletin of the Mathematical Association*, University of Allahabad, vol. I, 1927-28, pp. 49 et seq.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 55 et seq.

3 *Sūtrākṛtāṅgasūtra*, 2nd *śrutaskanda*, ch. i, verse 154.

4 *Sūtra* 20.

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(*viṣama-cakravāla* or *parimaṇḍala*) is mentioned in the *Sūryaprajñapti*,[1] *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[2] (c. 300 B.C.), *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*[3] (before 350 B.C.) and also other works.[4] The mention of elliptic cylinder (*ghana parimaṇḍala*) is found in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*.[5] In this work the form of the ellipse is described as like that of a barley corn (*yavamadhyavṛtta saṃsthāna*).[6] Further, there are reasons to believe that the ellipse is symmetrical about its either axis.[7] We do not know what other properties of the ellipse were known to them. But this is at least true that in the matter of the discovery of the figure of the ellipse and elliptic cylinder, the Hindus anticipated the Greeks. The mensuration formulæ referred to are those connected with the segment of a circle and they were also discovered about the same time.[8] All these facts, especially as they are referred to in the canonical works, lead us strongly to the presumption that there must have been some special treatises on mathematics composed in the centuries

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1 Sūtra 19, 25, 100. In this work the ellipse is termed *viṣama-cakravāla* in contradistinction to *cakravāla* meaning circle. Compare Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, p. 274.

2 Sūtra 724-7. Here the ellipse is called *parimaṇḍala*.

3 *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, 617. Here also ellipse = *parimaṇḍala*; cf. *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*, p. 56.

4 See *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, xxxvi, 22; *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, sūtra 144.

5 *Sūtra* 726. The elliptic cylinder is called *ghana parimaṇḍala* (lit., solid ellipse) in contradistinction to *pratara parimaṇḍala* (lit., plane ellipse) which means ellipse.

6 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 725. Buddhaghoṣa describes it as *Kukkuṭāṇḍa-saṃsthāna* (or an egg-shaped figure) and the *Petavatthu* commentary has *āyatavṛtta* (or elongated circle).

7 *Ibid.*, sūtra 726. In this sūtra is given the minimum number of *odd* or *even* shots which can be arranged to form different geometrical figures. In the case of the ellipse no such distinction is made; it is simply given that the minimum number of shots that can form an ellipse is twenty. On this the commentator Abhayadeva (*c.* 1050) remarks: दृढ भोजो युग्ममेदी न स्तः युग्मरूपत्वेनैकरूपत्वात् परिमण्डलवेति।

8 For these formulæ and further information regarding the Jaina contribution to mathematics, see the author's paper on "The Jaina School of Mathematics" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*.

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preceding the Christian era, which are now lost. We hope future investigations will throw more light on that dark period of the history of Hindu mathematics.

Early Hindu Gaṇita

The subjects treated in the Hindu *gaṇita* of the early renaissance period consisted of the following :[1] *parikarma* ("fundamental operations"), *vyavahāra* ("subjects of treatment"), *rajju* ("rope," meaning "geometry"), *rāśi* ("heap", meaning "mensuration of solid bodies"), *kalāsavarṇa* ("fractions"), *yāvat tāvat* ("as many as", meaning "simple equations"), *varga* ("square", meaning "quadratic equations"), *ghana* ("cube" or "cubic equations"), *varga-varga* (i.e., bi-quadratic equations") and *vikalpa* ("permutations and combinations").[2] It will be found subsequently that the topics included in the Hindu mathematical treatises of later days are almost the same.

The ancient work *curṇī* defines the term *parikarma* as referring to those fundamental operations of mathematics as will befit a student to enter into the remaining and the real part of the science of mathematics.[3] According to it the fundamental operations are sixteen in number.

In the absence of a specific treatise on mathematics, we are not in a position to define further the scope of treatment and the topics for discussion in the Hindu *gaṇita* of the early renaissance period. We, however, find in the *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*[4] that mathematics (*gaṇita*) including permutations and combinations (*bhaṅga*) was then considered to be very subtle (*sūkṣma*). The commentator observes in this connexion that those subjects were considered subtle as their study requires subtle intellect. He further adds that though permutations and combinations are really included in mathematics, they have been mentioned separately on account of their great importance.

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1 *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* 747. This work was composed *c.* 300 B.C. or still earlier.

2 For a fuller interpretation of these terms, reference should be made to the author's paper on the "Jaina School of Mathematics" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*.

3 Quoted in the Jaina Encyclopædia, *Abhidhāna Rājendra*.

4 Sūtra 716.

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Śulva-sūtras and later Hindu Mathematics

Certain writers think that later Hindu mathematics bears no noticeable relation with the *Śulva-sūtras*. Kaye says: "The later Indian mathematicians[1] completely ignored the mathematical contents of the *Śulva-sūtras*. They not only never refer to them but do not even utilise the results given therein. We can go even further and state that no Indian writer earlier than the nineteenth century is known to have referred to the *Śulva-sūtras* as containing anything of mathematical value."[2] This statement has been partly reproduced by Cajori. "None of these geometrical construcions,"[3] says Cajori, "occur in later Hindu works; the latter completely ignore the mathematical contents of the *Śulva-sūtras*." Such an implication is contained in the statement of Smith: "The ritualistic mathematical formulas of the *Śulva-sūtras* now gave place to the mathematics of the stars."[5] The real facts have not been represented by these writers properly and accurately. For the important geometrical principles involved in the various rules of construction and transformation occuring in the *Śulva-sūtras* are: (1) the so-called Pythagorean theorem, (2) the properties of similar figures, (3) the circle-squaring, (4) the construction of a right-angle, (5) application of areas and (5) divison of figures. The first four of these topics enter largely in the later Hindu treatises on astronomy and mathematics.[6] If the latter do not contain the value of π given in the *Śulva-sūtras*, it is simply because they have

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1 The reference here is to the Hindu mathematicians flourishing in the period 600-1200 A.C. Kaye, like others, is ignorant of Hindu mathematics anterior to this period.

2 Kaye, *Indian Mathematics*, p. 3; compare also p. 9.

3 The reference is to the geometrical constructions of the *Śulva sūtras*.

4 Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, pp. 84, 86.

5 Smith, *History of Mathematics*, vol. I, p. 145.

6 The following remark of Whitney may be noted in this connexion: "The main principles, by aid of which the greater portion of all Hindu calculations are made, are, on the one hand, the equality of the square of the hypotenuse in a right-angled triangle to the sum of the squares of the other two sides, and, on the other hand, proportional relation to the corresponding parts of similar triangles." (*Sūrya-siddhānta*, ii. 27 (notes), p. 198).

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more accurate ones. Indeed the later Hindu mathematicians never lost their interest in the problem of the squaring of the circle.[1] The method of construction of a right-angle is too well-known. As regards the application of areas, division of geometrical figures and certain other minor operations requiring the application of Pythagorean theorem, it may be observed that they do not appear in the later Hindu works on mathematics in the particular manner in which they occur in the *Śulva-sūtras* because there was no longer any need for them. They were specially required in connexion with the construction of sacrificial altars some of which were indeed very complex. Owing to the rise and influence of Buddhism and Jainism which preached against the Vedic sacrifices during the several centuries about the beginning of the Christian era, Vedic sacrifices were on the wane. So the occasions for the construction of altars requiring high skill and ingenuity on the part of the constructor were few and far between. On the other hand, it should be observed that the Hindu geometry was of extremely practical nature. Hence later Hindu mathematicians did not feel any special necessity to incorporate those constructions and transformations into their works. Moreover it should not be forgotten that later Hindu geometry was not guided by any religious motive. Nevertheless it is not correct to say that the *Śulva-sūtras* became obsolete and were overlooked by all in India. They continued to remain classics with the priestly class, especially with the masters of the *Kalpasūtras* and were followed in practice wherever there were occasions during the succeeding centuries. That peoples interested in them did never disappear will be sufficiently realised from the necessity that arose in the middle ages for writing commentaries on the *Śulva-sūtras*. Special treatises on the construction of sacrificial altars were compiled from them even in the sixteenth century. What seems to me to be rather strange is the fact that the later priest geometricians were so slow to appreciate or almost overlooked the improved results discovered by the mathematicians. The gnomon appears in the later works as before. So far for the geometry of the *Śulva-sūtras*. As for their mathematical contents, *viz.*, the solution of the quadratic equation, operation with surd numbers, approximation to the values of surds, solution of the right-angled triangle,

1 For the achievements of the Hindus in the matter of the circle-squaring, see the writer's paper, "On the Hindu Values of π" (*JASB*, vol. 22, 1926, pp. 25-42).

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all of them not only appeared in the later Hindu works but also received further developments. What we miss in them is the consideration of the series for $\sqrt{2}$. The theory of the gnomon plays as important a part in later works as it did in the *Śulva-sūtras*. Indeed there is no Hindu treatise on mathematics available up till now without a section of it being devoted to the treatment of the gnomon.

Grahagaṇita or Jyotiṣa

We have seen how the scope of the science of *gaṇita* has gradually become restricted to arithmetic, algebra, geometry (with mensuration) and trigonometry and how astronomy has become separated and recognised as a distinct science. Nevertheless, *jyotiṣa* does not lose all its relation with the term *gaṇita*. For astronomy is called sometimes *graha-gaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation of the Planets"). On the other hand, the term *jyotiṣa* is given a wider connotation in the sense that the science of *jyotiṣā* is classified into three branches: *gaṇita* (astronomy proper), *saṃhitā* (astrology in general) and *horā* (individual planetary astrology or nativity calculation). Astronomical observation is always called *dṛk-gaṇita* (or "observational astronomy") and the astronomer, as also the astrologer, is called the *gaṇaka* or *gaṇitajña* (or "the expert in the *gaṇita*"). An expert mathematician also is called *gaṇaka*. He is sometimes called *saṃkhyānācārya* (or "the expert in the science of numbers"). In the early Vedic literature, the astronomer is known as the *nakṣatra-darśa* (or "the star-gazer") or *gaṇaka*.[1] This term must have originated in relation to the *nakṣatra-vidyā* as the name for astronomy, to which we have already referred. The term *nakṣatra-darśa* sometimes refer to the astrologers. In the Buddhist literature we have the name *nakṣatra-pāṭhaka* ("reader of stars") for the astrologers.[2] The modern Hindu science of astronomy (*jyotiṣa*) is classified into two principal branches: the *gaṇita* or the mathematical astronomy and the *gola* or the spherics. To proceed further with the scope and development of *jyotiṣa* will be going beyond the object of the present paper.

Three Classes of Arithmetic

In the earlier Buddhist literature, we find separate mention of three classes of arithmetic; *viz.*, *muḍrā*, *gaṇanā* and *saṃkhyāna*. Follow-

1 *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, xxx, 10, 20; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 5.

2 *Mahāniddesa*, p. 382.

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ing a Siṃhalese commentator, Rhys Davids interprets *mudrā* as "counting on the fingers."[1] From the Tibetan source, Schiefner calls it "hand rechnen"; Franke translates it as "finger rechnen." *Gaṇanā* is rendered by Rhys Davids as "counting without using the fingers," meaning "mental arithmetic, pure and simple." All these meanings are quite in agreement with the interpretations of the eminent Buddhist commentator Buddhaghoṣa (*c.* 450 A.C.). But Rhys Davids is not sufficiently clear and precise, perhaps due to his failure to grasp the correct significance, in interpreting *saṃkhyāna* as "summing up large totals." Ancient commentators also are not more clear on this point. *Saṃkhyāna* truly means, we have already stated, arithmetic in general. Here what has undoubtedly been implied by this term is the higher class of arithmetic in contradistinction to the other classes which have been indicated separately. One of the earliest enumerations of these three classes of arithmetic occurs in the *Dīgha Nikāya.*[2] They are also mentioned in the *Vinya Piṭaka,*[3] *Divyāvadāna*[4] and *Milinda-pañha.*[5] Thus as early as the fifth or the sixth century before the Christian era, the Hindus were used to distinguish between three classes of arithmetic : (1) mental arithmetic, pure and simple; (2) arithmetic with the use of the fingers, that is, finger arithmetic; and (3) advanced arithmetic in general. But oftentimes this differentiation was not adhered to, so that arithmetic in general was meant by *gaṇanā, gaṇita* or *saṃkhyāna.*[6]

Pāṭīgaṇita and Dhūlīkarma

In Sanskrit, arithmetic (together with geometry and mensuration) is called *Pāṭīgaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation of the Board") and

1 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogue of the Buddha*, vol. I, London, 1899, p. 21; *Milinda-pañha*, English translation by Rhys Davids, Oxford, 1890, p. 91, footnote. The Siṃhalese is very explicit; according to him, *mudrā* means "the finger-ring art, so-called from seizing the joints of the fingers, and using them as signs."

2 I, 51. 3 IV, 7.

4 *Divyāvadāna*, edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 3, 26, 48.

5 *Milinda-pañha*, loc. cit., p. 91.

6 For instance see *Jātaka*, I, p. 23; *Visuddhimagga*, p. 278; *Suttanipāta*, verse 677; *Milinda-pañha*, p. 79.

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astronomical calculations are sometimes called by the name *dhūlī-karma* ("Dust-work"). Importance of these two terms for the history of Hindu mathematics can never be overstated. The term *dhūlī-karma* is found in the works of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. The origin of the term is referred to the common practice amongst the early astronomers to do the computations on a wooden board covered with a thin layer of dust or sand, figures being written with a style. This practice continued to be in vogue amongst the astronomers even in later times when improved and better materials for writing were introduced. The origin of the term *pāṭīgaṇita* is also believed to be from the same practice, the Sanskrit word *pāṭī* meaning "board." It occurs as early as in the works of Brahmagupta. Thus the terms *pāṭīgaṇita* and *dhūlīkarma* are identical in meanings and they were first coined probably to denote that class of arithmetic for which some kind of writing materials was indispensable, in contra-distinction to mental arithmetic and finger arithmetic. Now looking to Arabia, we find that the treatises dealing with decimal numerals were called *Ilm-hisāb al-takht* or "The Science of Calculation of the Board." The Arabic word *takht* is derived from the Persian word *takhta* meaning the "board." Hence it is quite evident that Arabic *Ilm-hisāb al-takht* is an adoption of the Hindu *pāṭīgaṇita*. In Northern Africa, arithmetic following the Hindu numerals is named *Hisāb al-ghobār* or "The Sience of Calculation on the Dust," the Arabic word *ghobār* meaning "dust" or "sand." So it is clearly adopted from the term *dhūlīkarma*. In the middle ages in Europe, treatises on arithmetic were generally named *Liber Abaci*. Indeed the "abacus" came to mean any kind of arithmetic. This word comes from the Greek *ābax* which is probably derived from the Semitic word *abaq* meaning "dust." So the word "abacus" refers to a table covered with dust or sand. Hence *Liber Abaci* is related to *pāṭī-gaṇita* or *dhūlīkarma*. In this way we find how the influence of Hindu mathematics spread westward to Arabia, Northern Africa and Europe.[1]

Later Hindu Geometry: Kṣetra-gaṇita

Later Hindu geometry consists mainly of certain mensuration formulæ and solution of certain plane rectilinear figures such as triangles

1 For further information on the subject, reference may be made to the writer's paper, "On the Science of Calculation of the Board" in the *American Mathematical Monthly*.

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and quadrilaterals of different varieties. In some of these the Hindus undoubtedly showed considerable proficiency and indeed they obtained some remarkable results, e.g., a new proof of the Pythagorean theorem, formulæ for the area and diagonals of an inscribed convex quadrilateral (Brahmagupta's theorems) and rational solution of triangles—right-angled as well as scalene—and cyclic quadrilateral.[1] But on the whole their geometry is more predominated by practical purposes. There were no definitions, no postulates, no axioms, in a word, no scientific treatment of the subject. Whatever of geomety (with mensuration) the Hindus possessed are included within the scope of their *pāṭīgaṇita*, as has been stated before, and are dealt with in the sections on *kṣetra* (plane figures), *khātā* (excavation), *citi* (piles of bricks), *rāśi* (maunds of grain) and *krākacika* (saw). The last four topics are of course pertaining to solid figures. Mahāvīra's classification and terminology are more accurate and also happy inasmuch as they clearly express the relation of those subjects to the main body of the *gaṇita*. He calls the first the *kṣetra-gaṇita* and the rest[2] by the name *khātā-gaṇita* or simply *khātā*. Mahāvīra was admittedly guided in this respect by the writings of the early Jaina mathematicians.[3] Following the practice of the ancient priest-geometricians, the latter, it has been pointed out before, called geometry *rajju-gaṇita*. They called the section of a treatise on mathematics devoted to the mensuration of solid bodies more appropriately by the name *rāśi* "heap" that is, "an elevation" in general. In discarding these terms Mahāvīra has simply been influenced by the practice of the later times. Apparently this classification of geometry corresponds to our modern one into plane and solid geometries. It should, however, be noted that *kṣetra-gaṇita* includes solution of rational rectilinear figures which modern plane geometry does not.

Euclid's Elements in India: *Rekhāgaṇita*

It will be very interesting to know in this connection when and how Euclid's *Elements* entered India. It has been stated by the

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1 Cf. *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*.

2 Mahāvīra does not treat of *rāśi*.

3 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, i, 17-19; compare also i, 70. The term *kṣetra-gaṇita* for geometry has been employed before Mahāvīra by Haribhadra in his *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-vṛtti*.

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eminent Arabian mathematician and traveller Al-berūnī that while composing his *India* (1030 A.C.), he began translating into Sanskrit verses Euclid's *Elements* (together with Ptolemy's *Almagest*) "being simply guided herein by the desire of spreading science."[1] Whether that translation was at all completed, if not, how much of the *Elements* was translated by him, we do not know. Nor do we know what happened of that translation. There is no trace of any such work in India. Probably that translation never reached the Indian soil. For at the time of composing *India*, Al-berūnī was in his native country Khowarīzm, modern *Khivā*. In 1035 A.C. Al-berūnī compiled a list of his publications and there is no mention of the translation in it.[2] So the most irresistible conclusion will be that the scheme did not mature at all. The next reference to the *Elements* in India, as far as I know,[3] occurs in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* of Abul Fazl (*c.* 1590 A.C.). Here and there this writer has referred to the propositions of the *Elements* in a way which shows his thorough acquaintance with the work.[4] Abul Fazl got his education in India; so he must have learnt Euclid's *Elements* here, of course, in Arabic or Persian translation. Thus we find that the work was known in India in the sixteenth century.

It is said that the king Muhammad Tughlaq (1325 A.C.) was learned in the sciences of physics, logic, astronomy and mathematics. He even studied the Greek philosphy. That king's liberality is said to have attracted to Delhi some of the most learned men of Asia.[5] It is possible that his library might contain books on Euclid's *Elements*. For long before his time, the book had become well known amongst

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1 *Al-beruni's India*, English translation by E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, vol. I, p. 137.

2 This list is published in the Introduction (pp. xl-xlvil) to the Arabic original of Al-berūnī's *Chronology* edited by Edward Sachau (*Chronologie Orientalischer Volker von Alberuni*, Leipzig, 1878).

3 I can frankly confess that I could not devote sufficient time and attention to investigate this ineresting subject. Still I record the materials I have collected in the hope that they will draw the attention of scholars.

4 *Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta (1891, 1894), vol. II, pp. 415-6; vol. III, p. 24.

5 John Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 410, 411.

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the moslem scholars. But all these are speculative and should be taken for what they are worth.

When Euclid's *Elements* entered India, we do not know exactly. But we are almost sure that it remained in the beginning confined to the circle of Moslem scholars in India.

The earliest trace of its influence in a Sanskrit work that I have as yet seen is the *Siddhānta-tattva viveka* of Kamalākara the court-astronomer of the Emperor Jahangir of Delhi. It is a voluminous treatise on astronomy written in 1658 A. C. In it there are passages which are evidently copied from the *Elements*. For instance, we have the following definition and classification of a line : "Of which there is always the length, and the breadth does not exist, and (which is) very fine. That line should be known by the intelligent as of two kinds ; curved and uncurved. Of these the uncurved is called straight...".[1] There are other pieces which, though the resemblance is not so close, can be identified with particular propositions of the *Elements* without much difficulty.[2] On the whole, there is absolutely no noubt in my mind that Kamalākara had seen Euclid's *Elements*. The first complete translation of this work in Sanskrit was made in 1718 A. C. under the title *Rekhāgaṇita* ("Calculation with Lines"), by Samrāṭ Jagannātha, at the command of his patron King Jaya Siṃha of Jaipur.[3] It was rendered from the Arabic translation of Euclid by Nasiruddin al-Tusi (died 1276 A. C.). The *Rekhāgaṇita* contains fifteen *adhyāyas* or Books : Books I-IV and VI are devoted

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1 *Siddhānta-tattva-viveka* of Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara with the commentary (*śeṣavāsanā*) of the author, edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1885, iii, 22. Compare

दैर्घ्यं यस्याः सदैवास्ति विस्तरो नैव विद्यते ।
अतिसूक्ष्मा च सा रेखा ज्ञेया बुद्धिमता द्विधा ॥ २३
अवक्रा वक्रगा तवाऽवक्रा तु सरलाभिधा ।

2 For instance, see iii, 38, 45, 46, 48, etc. in which there is reference respectively to Euclid, Bk I, Prop. 21 ; VI, 8 ; I, 15 ; I, 19.

3 Jagannātha, *Rekhāgaṇita*, edited by Kamalasankar Pransankar Trivedi, Bombay, 1901. Compare Sudhakara Dvivedi, *Gaṇaka Taraṅgiṇī*, Benares, 1892, pp. 133f. ; A Weber, "Die Grieschen in Indien," *Sitz. d. König preus. Akademie d. Wissenschaften z. Berlin*, phil. hist. classe, xxxvii (1890), pp. 922f

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to plane geometry ; Bk. V deals with the laws of proportion which are utilised in Bk. VI ; Bks. VI-IX are purely arithmetical and elucidates the principles of numbers ; Bk. X treats of incommensurable quantities and Bks XI-XIV treat of solid geometry. Jagannātha himself seems to have shown some originality in the matter of proofs especially. For instance, there are 16 alternative proofs of Book I, Prop. 47. In 1727 A.C., i.e., nine years after the composition of the book, one Lokamani made an excellent copy of the manuscript of the *Rekhā-gaṇita* at the command of King Jaya Siṃha and that copy is now in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Benares. Another translation of Euclid's *Elements* in Sanskrit is also known under the title *Siddhānta-Cūḍāmaṇi*. It is very closely related to the *Rekhāgaṇita* but is in verse while the other is in prose. The authorship of this translation is unknown.

No Greek Influence on Hindu Mathematics

We are now in a position to examine closely the presumption of those writers who, as has been noted before, believe in Hindu mathematics after the *śulvasūtra* period having been greatly influenced by Greek mathematics. Their theory is mainly based on the following arguments : (1) The existence of commercial and political relations between Alexandria and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era, (2) the presence of Greek terms and other apparent traces of borrowing in the Hindu astrology, and (3) the supposed Greek influence on Hindu astronomy. From these they make the ***a priori*** conclusion that scientific ideas must have passed from

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1 Durgadas Lahiri, *Pṛthivīr Itihāsa*, vol. 3, p. 339. For comparison we here give the general enunciation of Prop. 8 of Book I from the two works :

"यस्य त्रिभुजस्य भुजत्रयमन्यत्रिभुजस्य भुजैः समानं भवति तदा तस्य कोणत्रयमपि अन्यत्रिभुजस्य कोणैरवश्यं समानं भविष्यति।"—रेखागणित।

"यस्य त्रिकोणस्य भुजत्रयञ्चै-
र्भुजैः समानं क्रमशोऽन्यकस्य।
त्रिकोणकौ तौ समानरूपौ
स्यातामिति त्वं खलु दर्शयास्य॥"
सिद्धान्तचूडामणि।

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Alexandria to India. Of course it is not possible to deny the probability of transference of ideas in such circumstances. Moreover there are evidences to show that philosophical and theological ideas of the Hindus influenced Greek thought. But so far as mathematics is concerned, we have not only no specific evidence of transference of Greek mathematical ideas into India but there are also certain solid facts which will stand formidably against any such theory of borrowing.[1]

(1) If Greek contact had given any impetus to the revival of mathematics in India as is supposed by them, its effect would have been felt in the maximum degree in the domain of geometry, a science which the Greeks carried to perfection and in which the Greeks undoubtedly excelled all the other nations of the world. But we have already pointed out that the renaissance of Hindu mathematics affected the least the culture of geometry. Further, Hindu geometry differs very widely from Greek geometry in its scope as well as in its methods of treatment. In short, Greek geometry is a well developed science whereas Hindu geometry is unscientific. The earliest trace of Greek geometry in India is found in the sixteenth century.

(2) A very fundamental characteristic of Greek mathematical theory is the clear distinction between *arithmetic* (the theory of numbers) and *logistic* (the art of calculation). That distinction began before Plato (*c.* 380 B.C.) and continued to be recognised much later. Moreover, the Greek mathematicians gradually concentrated their attention on the development of *arithmetic* in disregard of *logistic*. The Hindu mathematicians, on the other hand, do not make any such distinction in their *gaṇita*. It may be noted that what we now call arithmetic, at least in its elementary parts, was called logistic by the Greeks.

(3) The Greeks had brilliant achievements in the theory of numbers, the classification of numbers, theory of figurate numbers,

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1 It has been pointed out elsewhere that a certain term employed by the Greek traveller and mathematician Democritus bears so close a resemblance to a term in the *śulvasūtras* as to suggest borrowing by the former. Schroeder and Bürk also believed that Pythagoras learnt of the well-known property of the right-angled traingle which now generally goes by his name from the Indians (*Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*, pp. 50, 53).

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theory of proportion and mean and the theory of irrationals. Amongst the Hindus, the distinction of numbers into even (*yugma*) and odd (*ayugma* or *oja*) appeared as early as the Vedic age (*c.* 3000 B. C.), milleniums before its appearance amongst the Pythagoreans. But they do never carry their classification any further. The theory of figurate numbers is not found amongst the Hindus. Though their mathematicians from Āryabhaṭa (432 A. C.) onwards state how to find the sum of agnates and cubes of numbers[1], they do not connect them with geometrical forms. The Hindus know nothing about the theory of proportion and mean. Though they have discovered and made great use of the Rule of Three, it has no relation with the theory of proportion. The irrational and Pythagorean numbers were discovered by the Hindus in the time of the *śulva-sūtra* (*c.* 800 B. C.) before the Greeks. Thus we find that practically nothing of the Greek theory of numbers came to India. On the other hand, the Hindu achievements in mathematics are chiefly in the domain of what the Greeks called *logistic*.

(4) The Hindu algebra is particularly distinguished from the Greek algebra. Colebrooke, after enumerating the various points of difference between them, comes to the conclusion that: "No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other."[1]

(5) Above all there is the fundamental difference between the Greek and Hindu mathematical ideas and principles. The normal Greek mind was more *geometrical* than anything else whereas the normal Hindu mind was more *arithmetical* or *analytical*. The Hindus even made algebra of their geometry; their geometrical results are

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1 It is highly disputable if the Greeks knew the summation of the series of cubes. It is not found in the works of any Greek writer. There is no reference to it in the works of Greek commentators. It occurs in India in the works of Āryabhaṭa (499 A.C.). Al-Karkhi, a pro-Greek Arabian algebraist of the eleventh century, has given a geometrical demonstration of it much in the Greek fashion. And that has been considered as the sole argument in support of the assumption of its knowledge amongst the Greeks. Heath, *History of Greek Math.*, vol. I, pp. 109, 110. It might be that Al-Karkhi obtained the result from India and devised the proof himself.

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often found to have been verified algebraically and illustrative examples that are generally adduced in their treatises on geometry are simply arithmetical. The Greeks, on the other hand, made geometry of algebra and arithmetic and they usually thought in terms of lines and forms instead of concrete numbers. Greek arithmetic was speculative and Hindu arithmetic practical.

Dispassionate consideration of these broad questions of ideals and methods will strongly lead one to doubt and reject all conjectures of communication between Hindu and Greek mathematics. Isolated cases of resemblance, if there be any, cannot be taken as evidence on the point. For in those cases, unless supported and supplemented by other incontrovertible and weighty arguments, the possibility of independent discovery cannot be eliminated. Even priority of discovery cannot logically be made a ground for conjectures of borrowing by the posterior nations. All these important considerations led some of the eminent Indologists, who firmly believe in the Greek influence on Hindu astronomy, to declare the independent origin of Hindu mathematics. Those scholars have firsthand knowledge of the original Hindu treatises on mathematics and as such are more competent to speak with authority than others. Hoernle considers that "the Hindus did not get their elements of the arithmetical science from the Greeks."[2] "I believe", says he, "that it is generally admitted that Indian arithmetic and algebra, at least, are of entirely native origin. While Siddhānta writers like Brahmagupta and his predecessor Āryabhaṭa might have borrowed their astronomical elements from the Greeks or from books founded themselves on Greek science, they took their arithmetic from native Indian sources." After carefully considering "the question whether the whole development of mathematics in India is to be regarded as completely independent, or derived from foreign sources," Thibaut comes to the final conclusion: "The absence of such and other similar proofs[3] is naturally to be taken to a certain extent to indicate the originality of Indians in the domain of

1 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p. 409. Compare also *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics.*

2 *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, 1888, p. 34.

3 The reference here is to "a common system of 'half true' theories found simultaneously on both sides e.g. the theory of epicycle in astronomy."

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mathematics. To this we might add the other circumstances, viz. that at least in arithmetic, the Indian cannot be regarded as having originated from the Greek in any particular and that in certain higher matters, specially regarding indeterminate analysis, their works are considerably in advance of the Greeks."[1] "Mathematics and Geometry are indigenous Indian sciences," says Professor Winterniz, "and it is highly probable that the system of writing numerical figures now adopted in the whole civilised world was first invented in India. Geometry also, as we find it in the *Śulva-sūtras*, is not influenced by the Greeks and the 'so-called Pythagorean theorem' was known to the authors of the *Śulva-sūtras*."[2] Above all, a great authority on the subject of ancient mathematics like Hermann Hankel believes that the Hindus are the inventors of algebra. "Indeed, if one understands by algebra the application of arithmetical operations to complex magnitudes of all sorts, whether rational or irrational numbers or space-magnitudes, then the learned Brahmins of Hindustan are the real inventors of algebra."[3] There are certain other scholars who would even go so far as to suggest that Hindu mathematics influenced the Greek science. For instance Robbins and Karpinski are of opinion that the early Greek arithmetical science might have been influenced by the Hindus.

Scope of Pāṭīgaṇita

Bhāskara (1150) recognizes eight fundamental operations (*parikarma*) in arithmetic: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, squaring, square root, cubing and cube root. The two operations of duplation (doubling) and mediation (halving) which were considered

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1 G. Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, quoted in extenso by G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 1920, pp. 181ff. This book may be consulted for review of Hellenic influence, supposed and actual, on the different spheres of Hindu culture.

2 Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 78.

3 H. Hankel, *Zur Geschichte der Mathematik in Altentum and Mittelalten*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 195; quoted by Professor Cajori in his *History of Mathematics*, p. 94.

4 D'ooge, Robbins and Karpinski, *Nicomachus of Geresa*, New York, 1926, Part. I, p. 5; compare also p. 11.

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fundamental by the Egyptian, Greek, and some Arab and western mathematicians are omitted in the Hindu treatises on mathematics. Śrīdhara (c. 750) and Mahāvīra (850) also give the number eight. But according to Brahmagupta the number is twenty. It is made up of, besides the above eight, and five rules for reduction of fractions, rule of three (direct), inverse rule of three, rule of five, rule of seven, rule of nine, rule of eleven and barter (*bhāṇḍa-pratibhāṇḍa*).

According to Brahmagupta there are eight subjects for treatment (*vyavahāra*) in arithmetic: mixture, progression, plane figure, excavation, stock, saw, maund and shadow. Concurrence (*saṃkramaṇa*) and dissimilar operation (*viṣama-karma*), which are considered by others as topics of discussion for arithmetic has been included by Brahmagupta into algebra.

Topics discussed in Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* are the following : cipher (also discussed in algebra), inversion, supposition, concurrence, dissimilar operation, operation relative to squares, operation relative to multiplicator, rule of three (direct and inverse), rule of five, seven, nine and eleven terms, interest, barter, purchase and sale, alligation, permutations and combinations, progression (arithmetical and geometrical), plane figures, excavation, stocks, saw, maunds of grain, shadow of gnomon, pulverisor, combination. Of these, the topics beginning with inversion up to barter are classed as *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous topics) and the next three topics are classed as *miśraka* (mixture). In this way it comes into line with *Triśatikā* and *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*.

Rule of Three

One thing of Bhāskara deserves special notice. He gives too much importance to the rule of three. He explains : "The rule of three is, indeed, arithmetic."[1] This has been elaborated with the help of a beautiful metaphor : "As by Lord Śrī Nārāyaṇa, who relieves the sufferings of birth and death, who is the only primary cause of the creation of the universe, is pervaded this universe through His own manifestations as worlds, paradises, mountains, rivers, gods, men, demons etc., so are all matters of calculation pervaded by the rule of Three."[2] If it be so,

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1 *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, *golādhyāya*, *praśnādhyāya*, verse 3 : अखिलं त्रैराशिकं पाटी । This observation reappears in the *Līlāvatī* (p. 15).

2 *Līlāvatī*, p. 76.

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then what is the need of those multifarious methods and operations? To this, his answer is: "whatever is calculated in algebra or in arithmetic by operations of multiplication and division will be comprehended by the sagacious learned as simply the rule of three. That it has been composed by the sages through the multifarious methods and operations such as miscellaneous rules, etc. is simply with the object of increasing the comprehension of the duller intellects like ourselves, for it was realised by those sages that such differentiations will make the subject easy."[1] On another occasion he observes: "Leaving squaring, square-root, whatever is calculated is certainly variation of the rule of three, nothing else. For increasing the comprehension of the duller intellects like ourselves, what has been written in the various ways by the learned sages having the loving heart of the bird *Cakora*, that has become arithmetic." Similarly great importance was attached to the rule of three in Europe where it was called in the middle ages as "The Golden Rule." Thus Hodder, the popular English arithmetician of the seventeenth century, observes: "The Rule of Three is commonly called, *The Golden Rule*; and indeed it might be so termed; for as Gold transcends all other Mettals, so doth this Rule all others in Arithmetick."[2]

Bījagaṇita as defined

Bhāskara says: "Analysis (*bīja*) is certainly the innate intellect assisted by the various symbols (*varṇa*) which, for the instruction of duller intellect, has been expounded by the ancient sages who enlighten mathematicians as the sun irradiates the lotus; that has now taken the name Algebra (*Bījagaṇita*)."[3] That algebraic analysis requires keen intelligence and sagacity has been observed by him on more than one occasion. "Neither does analysis (*bīja*) consist in symbols," says Bhāskara, "nor are there different kinds

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1 *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi, golādhyāya, praśnādhyāya*, verse 4.

2 Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, p. 486.

3 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 99.

बीजं मतिर्विविधवर्णसहायनी हि
मन्दावबोधविषये विबुधैर्निजाऽर्थे:।
विस्तारिता गणकतामरसांशुमद्भि
र्या सैव बीजगणिताह्वयतामुपेता॥

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of analysis ; sagacity alone is the analysis : for wide is imagination." This remark has been repeated in the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*[1] and in the *Bījagaṇita*.[2] There is an interesting discussion about the importance and usefulness of intelligence in the matter of algebraic analysis. He puts the question to himself : "If (unknown things) are to be discovered by intelligence alone, what is then the need of analysis ?" He then answers himself : "Because intelligence is certainly the real analysis ; symbols (*varṇa*) are its helps. What innate intelligence has been expressed for the duller intellects by the ancient sages who enlighten mathematicians as the sun irradiates the lotus, with the help of the various symbols, has now obtained the name of Algebra (*bījagaṇita*)."[3] From these observations we find what, according to Bhāskara, defines the algebra : it is the science which treats of numbers expressed by symbols.

Distinctive Relation between Arithmetic and Algebra

What makes the distinction between arithmetic and algebra, in the opinion of Bhāskara, will be realised to a certain extent from his especial names for them. His especial name for the former is *Vyakta-gaṇita* ("the Science of Calculation with knowns") and for the latter *Avyakta-gaṇita* ("the Science of Calculation with unknowns"). Hence one distinction lies in the fact that in one case the symbols used are *vyakta*, that is, known and definitely determinate, in the other case they are *avyakta*, that is unknown, indefinite. The relation between these two branches of the science of *gaṇita* is considered by Bhāskara to be this : "The arithmatic of known is based on the arithmetic of unknowns."[4] He has more explicitly and clearly put it thus : "Algebra is similar to arithmetical rules, (but only) appears as if indeterminate (*gūḍha*). It is not indeterminate to the intelligent ; it is not certainly six-fold but many-fold."[5] In the

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1 *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi*, edited by Bapu Deva Śāstrī, *Golādhyāya praśnādhyāya*, verse 5, p. 440. Compare also verse 3—बीजं च विमला मतिः। This reappears in the *Līlāvatī* (p. 15).

2 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 49. Compare also अथवा बुद्धिरेव बीजम्।
नैव वर्णात्मकं बीजं न बीजानि पृथक् पृथक्।
एकमेव मतिर्बीजमनल्पा कल्पना यतः॥

3 *Ibid*, p. 100.

4 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 1—"व्यक्तमव्यक्तबीजं"

5 *Līlāvatī*, p. 15 : पाटीसूत्रोपमं बीजं गूढमित्यवभासते।
नाविगूढममूढानां नैव धीदेत्यनेकधा॥

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opening verse of his treatise on algebra, Bhāskara praises the science thus: "I venerate the unapparent computation, which calculators affirm to be the means of comprehension, being expounded by a fit person: for it is the single element of all which is apparent."[1]

The true distinction between arithmetic and algebra, besides the one of the kinds of symbols, has been stated by Bhāskara to be lying in the demonstration. He remarks: "Mathematicians have declared algebra to be computation joined with demonstration: else there would be no difference between arithmetic and algebra."[2] The method of demonstration is said to be always of two kinds: one geometrical (*kṣetra-gata*), the other algebraical (*rāśi-gata*).[3] We do not know who first invented in India the geometrical method of demonstrating the algebraical rules. Bhāskara acknowledges to have received it from ancient teachers.[4]

Scope of Bījagaṇita

Bhāskara recognises six fundamental operations in algebra: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, squaring and extraction of square root. Cubing and extraction of cube root which are included amongst the fundamental operations of arithmetic are excluded here. He first applies these six operations to positive and negative quantities, *i.e.* the laws of signs, zero, monomial, polynomial and surds. Then he treats of *kuṭṭaka* ("pulveriser") and *varga prakṛti* ("affected square") with *cakravāla* ("cyclic method"). The former deals with the complete general solution of the indeterminate equation of the first degree and the others give general solution in rational integers of the so-called Pellian equations.

After elucidating the subjects mentioned above Bhāskara observes; "Thus are spoken the abridged calculations necessary for the *bīja*

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1 Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 150.

उत्पादकं यत् प्रवदन्ति बुद्धेरधिष्ठितं सत्पुरुषेण सांख्याः।
व्यक्तस्य कृत्स्नस्य तदेकबीजमव्यक्तमीशं गणितं च वन्दे॥ (*Bījagaṇita*, p. 1).

2 Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 272.

उपपात्तियुतं बीजगणितं गणका जगुः।
न चेदेवं विशेषोऽस्ति न पाटीबीजयोर्यतः॥ (*Bījagaṇita*, p. 127).

3 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 125; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 271.

4 Bījagaṇita, p. 127; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 272.

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(analysis); next I shall speak of the *bīja* which is the source of pleasure to the mathematicians."[1] It is noteworthy that the inderterminate equation of the first degree and the Pellian equations are considered to be of fundamental importance in algebra. Indeed they are his chief instruments in certain kinds of his algebraic analysis.[2].

According to Bhāskara, analysis is fourfold :[3] (1) linear equations involving one unknown ; (2) linear equations involving more than one unknown ; (3) equations in one or more unknowns in their second or higher powers (*madhyamāharaṇa*) ; and (4) equations involving product of unknown quantities (*bhāvita*). Konow's classification is slightly different. Accordingly the primary distinction of analysis is twofold : (i) Equation in one unknown and (ii) equation in two or more unknowns. Again, class (i) comprises two subclasses : (1) simple equation and (2) quadratic and higher equations. Class (ii) has three subclasses : (1) simultaneons linear equations. (2) equations involving second and higher powers of the unknowns; and (3) equations involving products of the unknowns.

The scope and topics of algebra are practically the same in the works of all the Hindu mathematicians. One noteworthy feature of the Hindu algebra is that though it contains the complete general solution of the quadratic equation, the cubic and higher equations have received little attention in it. In those cases, Bhāskara suggested to apply the same method as is available for the quadratic, that is, to reduce the cubic equation to a simple equation by taking the cube root of the side containing the unknown after necessary manipulations and to reduce the biquadratic in the same manner to a quadratic. Bhāskara observes that if such reduction is not possible, the solution must be obtained by the calculator's own ingenuity.[4]

Date of Renaissance in Hindu Mathematics

A more direct and conclusive proof of the originality of the Hindus in the matter of the invention of algebra and arithmetic will be furnished by the period of the beginning of the renaissance in their mathematics. We have seen before that those who believe in that renaissance having come in consequence of the supposed transmission

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1 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 83

2 For instance see *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87, 89, 99 and 100 (especially) ; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 245.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

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of Greek astronomy into India, have almost unanimonsly put the time of the latter about 400 A. C. But we shall presently show that the cumulative evidence of all the available materials in this connexion points to a much earlier period *c.* 400 B. C. for the beginning of the renaissance in Hindu mathematics. The distinction of arithmetic into three separate classes, viz., mental arithmetic, finger-arithmetic and higher arithmetic, must have very likely begun to be made in the commencement of that renaissance. The regard for a culture in mathematics as a very noble and paying art must have grown as a result. It has been stated before that reference to that distinction of, and regard for, mathematics is found as early as 500 B.C. in the Buddhist canonical works. Hence the renaissance in Hindu mathematics began in all probability about that period. A more decisive factor is the enumerated list of the topics of mathematics found in an early Jaina canonical works written before 300 B. C. That list, we have seen, contains topics from algebra as well as from arithmetic and geometry (including mensuration). Again the topics included for discussion in the later Hindu treatises on arithmetic have remained practically unchanged. It is only in algebra that we find that certain alteration in the classification of the subjects treated and also in their scope have appeared in the treatises of later days. Now taking the average of the two dates obtained from the Buddhist and the Jaina sources, we easily come to the conclusion that the renaissance in Hindu mathematics commenced from *c.* 400 B. C. This date will be consistent with the time of the discovery of ellipse in India and the revival of Hindu geometry, which, according to evidence from the Buddhist as well as the Jaina sources, occurred in the fifth century before the Christian era. Now this period is anterior, by nearly seven centuries, to the time of Diophantus (*c.* 275 A. C.), the father of Greek Algebra. The evidence of the Bakhshālī mathematics also shows that the Hindu mathematics was independent of the Greek mathematics.[1]

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA

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1 Bibhutibhusan Datta, "The Bakhshālī Mathematics," *Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.*, vol. xxi, 1929 (March), pp. 1-60. This work was composed about the beginning of the Christian era.

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Ranjit Singh and the North-West Frontier Problem

(Based solely on the records in the Imperial Record Department)

The North-Western Frontier being the Achilles' Heel of India has always been of the utmost concern to the power paramount in India. In view of this fact, a past history of the attempts to solve the North-Western Frontier Problem of India has a living interest. Just before the British took into their hands the solution of this frontier problem it was tackled by Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. Thus a study of Ranjit's western frontier policy cannot but be interesting and important.

According to Mr. Coatman, the Indian North-Western Frontier problem is made up of four subsidiary problems :

(1) The international problem of the relations between India and Afghanisthan.

(2) The political problem i.e. the problem of the control of the border tribes.

(3) The problem of the military defence of the frontier.

(4) The problem of the administration of the north-west frontier.

The first question therefore that arises in this connection is, whether Ranjit had a mind to conquer Afghanisthan? The arguments in favour of a negative view appear overwhelming. Ranjit had experienced disasters in his first attempt at the conquest of Kashmir owing to the inclemency of the climate and other peculiar local conditions. He no doubt dreaded the operation of the same causes in the event of his invading Kabul. Once in the year 1827, he had a conversation with Wade, the British agent, on the advisability of invading Kabul. About this interview Wade writes, "I proceeded to remark that it would be a very hazardous expedition. The country is a strange one to the Sikhs, intersected by mountains and torrents not easily passable; it would be difficult to maintain his communications and keep his troops supplied—observations in which His Highness at that time expressed his concurrence."[1]

In a similar strain, Ranjit Singh himself once spoke to Wafa Begum,

1 Pol. Proceedings, 31st July, No. 23.

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wife of Shah Shuja. Of course with both these Ranjit Singh had reasons to suppress his motives. But what do we actually find? If these considerations had not weighed upon his mind, he would certainly have attempted the conquest of Afghanisthan during the long interval of confusion in Afghan history between the death of Md. Azim Khan and the accession of Dost Muhammad to power. His French officers were too eager to march on Kabul and no less eager were the Sikh Sardars and soldiers, but though he spoke of invading Afghanisthan on occasions just to humour his Sardars and French officers and keep Dost Muhammad on tenderhooks, the statesman within him never got the better of the mere warrior. It was only on one occasion probably that he seriously thought of invading Afghanisthan when Hari Singh Nalwa was killed in a surprise attack by the Afghans. Anger, pride and sorrow for a time overwhelmed him but when he regained his composure he thought no more of it. The opinion of the British Government in this matter should be noted. The Secretary wrote to Burnes: "His Lordship thinks that although it might be hazardous and unprofitable to the Maharaja to seek to retain possession of a country so difficult, yet in the immense resources at his command, in his wealthy treasury and numerous and disciplined army, he has the means of overrunning it and of consummating at least the ruin of its present ruler."[1] Ranjit was not, what he otherwise would have been, the last link in the chain of conquerors like Chengiz Khan, Timur, Nadir and Ahmad Shah. The temptation of pushing his conquests to the Hindukush, of avenging upon the Afghans what the Punjab had suffered from them—all these dreams he brushed away. He did not believe in conquering raids. What he conquered, he consolidated in his own way.

It may be argued against this view that the fact that he joined in the Tripartite Treaty to restore Shah Shuja shows that he was not disinclined to a conquest of Afghanisthan. But he was an unwilling partner in the enterprise. He joined because he knew that the British Government was prepared to undertake the expedition even without him and perhaps he feared that with their phenomenal good luck and their immense resources they might succeed where he did not hope to do. Yet perhaps he cheered his vexed spirit with the hope that the English would yet be baffled[2] and indeed they were.

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1 Pol. Proceedings, 19th May, 1838 No. 76.

2 Cunningham, History of the Sikhs.

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Ranjit's north-western conquests have two stages. He conquered Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan but was at first content to rule through the local Muhammadan chieftains who acknowledged his overlordship and paid tribute. He conquered Peshawar but gave it first to Jahandad Khan and then to Yar Muhammad Khan as a feudatory. He conquered Dera Ghazi Khan but gave it to the Nawab of Bahawalpur. He subjugated Dera Ismail Khan, recognising the ruler Hafiz Muhammad Khan as tributory to Lahore. But not long after the disturbances from Syed Ahmad in Peshawar were over, we recognise a change of policy. Dera Ghazi Khan was re-occupied in 1831, Peshawar in 1834; Tak, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan were directly annexed between 1832 and 1836. His territory extended from Mithankot along the right bank of the Indus to the hills of Bajour. From Burnes we learn of the extent of the authority of the Maharaja west of the Indus—"He has no power beyond the plain country. The Derajat is under complete subjection, in Dera Ismail Khan the people are heartily disaffected. In the Eshakhyl territories the chief is now in rebellion. He will agree to pay tribute, as far as 36,000 rupees but not to receive a detachment of Sikhs. Murwat is also in rebellion. From Tak a more certain but varying tribute is levied. From Bunnoo nothing is procurable but by the presence of an army and north of it to the plain of Peshawar the country is entirely dependent."[1]

So far as the problem of the control of the border tribes was concerned, we can guess that Ranjit Singh's policy was not very different from that which was followed by the British Government in the years following the Sikh War. It can be called a "tip and run policy" i.e. when any particular tribe became too aggressive committing too many raids, a military column went into its country, inflicted whatever damage it could and came out again. The mountaineers were kept down by a movable column constantly in the field.

The military arrangements on the North-Western Frontier were calculated to defend the Punjab against an invasion from Afghanisthan.[2] Ranjit did not look beyond Afghanisthan to Russia and stood in no awe of Russian advance. Peshawar was strongly fortified, forts were erected there at Sikham, at Machin ; a line of towers at

1 Pol. Proceedings, 11th September, 1837, No. 39.

2 Pol. Proceedings, 29th August, 1836, No. 32.

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intervals of two *Koses* connected that city and Attok. Forts at Attok, Khairabad, Shubkandur, Jahangeria and other places guarded the region. The most important fort in the Hazara region was that of Kushangarh. Hari Singh Nalwa was killed by a surprise attack of the Afghans while building a fort at Jamrud. After his death a new fort was built nearby and was named Fatehgarh. The forts between Torlila and Darband were almost within sight of each other. But the most important part of his plan of defence was connected with the acquisition of Tank, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. According to Burnes he seized Dera Ismail Khan in order to establish a connection along the banks of the Indus with Peshawar. But Wade remarks that the object was far deeper. "The seizure was intended to threaten Dost Muhammad Khan from a new quarter less difficult of access than Peshawar, while at the same time they protected the centre of the Punjab from any invasion of the Afghans when they might be employed in strengthening and consolidating their power in Peshawar."[1] The Governors of the Peshawar region were able but ruthless administrators as Hari Singh Nalwa and Avitabile.

Ranjit, in his civil administration, was concerned mainly with revenue and very little with justice, etc. From the papers of Lachmi Proshad, the Dewan of Avitabile we can collect details about revenue and expenditure of Peshawar in the time of Avitabile.

Peshawar

Revenue-Nanakshahi	...	11,86,709	
Goondas	...	1,74,113	
Total	...	13,60,822	
Deducting 1/8th for 174,113 Goondas	...	21,764	5
		13,39,057	11

Expenditure

Pensioners	...	9,898	
Charitable lands	...	24,939	4
Jageerdars	...	6,20,590	
Salary of Avitabile ...	...	50,000	
Office Establishment ...	...	7,087	

1 Pol. Proceedings, 31st August, 1837, No. 69.

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Headmen of villages, district officers, judicial expenses		25,849	8
Ramghol Battalion (4834)		2,86,827	
Police Corps		51,155	
Total ...		10,76,345	12
Deducting for Goonda rupees		2,263	14
		10,74,081	14
Balance in Nanakshahi rupees ...		2,64,975	13

This is exclusive of the expenses of the Kohistanee force of 6000 men, of repairs of public buildings, supplies in the forts, commissions, assignments, etc.

Bannoo Tank—Revenue about 65,000 rupees. The revenue was very often collected *vi et armis*.

Dera Ismail Khan Marwat etc.—Revenue 6,04,686.

A comparison is often made between Ranjit Singh and Hyder Ali. In the Malabar coast region Hyder had something much like the Western Frontier of Ranjit. Physically the Malabar coast was indented, precipitous, full of mountain gorges and magnificent forests. The inhabitants, the Nairs and the Moplahs were much like the Waziris and the Afridis of the North-West frontier. There was very little cultivation. Plundering of peaceful neigbours was a common feature. The Malabar region baffled the military skill, activity and resolution of Hyder. The inhabitants rose frequently in rebellion. Hyder made terrible raids and left monuments of his vengeance, established military posts only to meet with renewed resistance from the junglewallahs. The Malabar coast remained the most vulnerable spot of his kingdom and was reduced rapidly by Hartley in the war with Tipoo. Ranjit only met with a moderate degree of success in the solution of his western frontier problem. So long as the Sikh kingdom lasted, the frontier was defended against Afghanisthan. The border tribes were not of course brought under direct sway but that was not possible under the circumstances and they are still taxing the ingenuity of the British Government. So far as the administration of the conquered territory on the western frontier was concerned, he was not wholly unsuccessful. On the whole Ranjit showed more coolness in his western frontier than Hyder Ali in the Malabar Coast region.

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA

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The Doctrine of Kāya in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

One of the points of difference between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools noticed by the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, viz., that Buddha makes a show of his existence in the three dhātus leads us to an examination of the question of the Kāyas of Buddha as conceived by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. Of the Hīnayāna schools, the Sthaviravādins had very little to do with the Kāya conceptions, as Buddha was to them an actual man living in this world like any other human being and subject to all the frailties of a mortal body. Metaphorically they sometimes spoke of Buddha as identical with Dhamma without any metaphysical implication but these remarks gave opportunity to the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāyānists to put forth their theories of Dharmakāya.

The Sarvāstivādins commenced speculating on the kāya of Buddha. but it was the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas that took up the question of kāya in right earnest and paved the way for the speculations of the Mahāyānists,

The early Mahāyānists, whose doctrines are mostly to be found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, along with the school of Nāgārjuna conceived of two kāyas : (i) Rūpa- (or Nirmāṇa-) kāya, which included bodies, gross and subtle, meant for beings in general, and (ii) Dharmakāya, which was used in two senses, one being the body of Dharma (i.e. collection of practices) which makes a being a Buddha, and the other the metaphysical principle underlying the universe—the Reality.

The Yogācāra school distinguished the gross rūpakāya from the subtle rūpakāya, calling the former Rūpa or Nirmāṇa-kāya and the latter Sambhogakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra*, representing the earliest stage of the Yogācāra conception, calls the Sambhoga-kāya Niṣyanda Buddha or Dharmatā-niṣyanda Buddha (the Buddha produced by the Dharmas). The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* uses the term Sambhogakāya for Niṣyanda Buddha and Svābhāvikakāya for Dharmakāya.[1] In the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* and the recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Sambhogakāya denotes the subtle body, which the Buddhas adopted for preaching their doctrines to Bodhisattvas,

1 Sūtrā., pp. 45, 188.

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and Dharmakāya the body purified by the practice of the bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, which make a Buddha. For the metaphysical Dharmakāya they use the term Svabhāva or Svābhāvikakāya. The *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* retains the conception of the *Kārikā* but adopts a new term, Svasambhogakāya, to denote the Dharmakāya of the *Karikā* and distinguishes the Sambhogakāya by calling it Parasambhogakāya.

Realistic Conception of Buddha in the Nikāyas

In a land where the tendency to deify saints is so strong, it is greatly to the credit of the early Hīnayānists that they were able to retain the human conception of Buddha even a century or two after his actual existence, when the scriptures may be regarded as having been put into a definite shape. They gave expression to their conception of Buddha in the following words, occurring in the Nikāyas: Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasaṃpanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā. So imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajaṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti. So dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ, etc. ("The Blessed one is an arahat, a fully awakened one, endowed with knowledge and good conduct, happy, a knower of the world, unsurpassed, a leader able to control men, a teacher of men and gods, the awakened, the blessed. He knows thoroughly the worlds of gods, māras, recluses, brahmins and men, and having known them he makes his knowledge known to others. He preaches the dhamma (doctrines), which is excellent in the beginning, middle and end," etc).[1]

A description like this does not suggest that Buddha was originally more than a man, a mortal. In the cosmology of the Buddhists, the gods of the various heavens, the highest of which is Brahmaloka,[2] are only beings of superior merit and power, but they are inferior, in the matter of spiritual attainments, to the saints or arahats. So in this description the Hīnayānists do not attribute any transcendental or theistic element to Buddha. All they say is that Śākyamuni by pure

1 This passage occurs in many places of the Nikāyas, see, e.g. Dīgha, I, pp. 87-88; cf. Lal. Vis., p. 3; Sad. P., pp. 144, 376.

2 In the Mahāyānic works also, as for instance in the Daśa., it is stated that a Bodhisattva can become a Mahābrahman in the ninth bhūmi if he so wishes.

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and simple spiritual culture in this life and as a result of the accumulated merits of his previous lives, reached the highest stage of perfection and attained not only knowledge and power superior to any man or god but also the highest knowledge and power attainable. In the Majjhima Nikāya, Ānanda explains why Buddha should be considered superior to the Arhats as well, although both arrived at the same goal. He says that there is not a single bhikkhu, who can be regarded as endowed with all the qualities in all their forms as possessed by Buddha. Moreover, a Buddha is the originator of the path not existing before, a knower and promulgator of the mārga, which is only followed by the sāvakas.[1]

Nikāya Passages admitting a non-realistic Conception

In the face of such descriptions of Buddha, it would have been difficult for the later Hīnayāna schools to sublimate the human elements in him, had it not been for certain expressions in some of the earlier works of the Piṭaka, which lent themselves to other interpretations. Some of these expressions are :—

(1) 'Yo vo Ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mam' accayena satthā. (Buddha said to Ānanda just before his parinibbāna 'the dhamma and vinaya that have been preached by me will be your teacher after my death.').[2]

The dhamma and vinaya clearly refer to the collection of doctrines and disciplinary rules delivered by Buddha. This is also evident from the conversation of Ānanda with Gopaka-Moggallāna, where the former explains why the monks after Buddha's death should not be considered as without refuge (appaṭisaraṇa). He says that they have now a refuge in Dhamma (dhammapaṭisaraṇa), which, he points out, are the doctrines and disciplinary rules.[3]

(2) Bhagavato' mhi putto oraso mukhato jāto dhammajo dhammanimmito dhammadāyādo iti.[4] Taṃ kissa hetu ? Tathāgatassa h' etam

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1 Majjhima, III, p. 8. 2 Dīgha, II, p. 154; Milinda, p. 99.

3 Majjhima, Gopaka-Moggallāna Sutta (No. 108). Cf. Saddhamma Saṅgaha (JPTS., 1890), ch. x, p. 65 : Buddha says "84,000 dhammakkhandhas have been preached by me in 45 years. I alone only pass away while there are 84,000 dhammakkhandhas which like 84,000 Buddhas (buddha-sadisa) will admonish you."

4 Saṃyutta, II, p. 221 ; Majjhima, III, p. 29 has the identical

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adhivacanaṃ. Dhammakāyo iti pi Brahmakāyo iti pi. Dhammabhūto iti pīti. "Just as a brāhmaṇa would say that he is born of Brahmā, through his mouth—Brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā—so a Sākyaputtiya-samaṇa may say that he is born of Bhagavā, through his mouth, born of his doctrine, made of his doctrine, etc.[1] Though in this passage Dhamma is equated with Brahmā, the context shows that there is no metaphysical sense in it ; it is only to draw a parallel between a brāhmaṇa and a Sākyaputtiya-samaṇa that Dhammakāya is equated with Brahmakāya.

(3) Vakkali on his death-bed became very eager to see Buddha in person ; so Bhagavā came to him and said "Alaṃ Vakkali kiṃ te pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati. Yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati." Just after saying this, Buddha referred to his dhamma of impermanence (anicca). There are in the Nikāyas many passages of this import, which may well be taken as precursors of the later Mahāyānic conceptions and probably formed the basis of their speculations. But the passages when read as they stand do not appear to bear any metaphysical sense. In this passage Buddha refers to his body as *pūtikāya* (body of impure matter), and to lay stress on his doctrines he says that his dhamma should be looked upon with the same awe and reverence by his disciples as they regard his person.[2]

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passage with the addition "no āmisadāyādo" after "dhammadāyādo." For the interpretation of "dhammadāyādo" see *Majjhima*, I, pp. 12f.

1 *Majjhima*, II, p. 84 ; *Dīgha*, III, p. 84 ; *Majjhima*, III, pp. 195, 224 has "Bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto dhammabhūto".

2 *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 120 ; *Majjhima*, I, pp. 190, 191 : Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati. For other references, see Prof. Vallée Poussin's article "Notes sur les Corps du Bouddha" in *Le Muséon*, 1913, pp. 259-290. Compare the remarks in the later Pāli works,—

Saddhamma Saṅgaha (JPTS., 1890), p. 61 :

Yo me passati saddhammaṃ so maṃ passati Vakkáli
Apassamāno saddhammaṃ maṃ passe pi na passati.

Milinda, p. 71 : yo dhammaṃ passati so bhagavantaṃ passati, dhammo hi mahārāja bhagavatā desito ti.

Ibid., p. 73 : Dhammakāyena pana kho mahārāja sakkā bhagavā nidassetuṃ, dhammo hi mahārāja bhagavatā desito ti.

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(4) The passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,[1] where Buddha says that he is neither a god, nor a gandhabba, nor a man, has been taken by Prof. Masson-Oursel[2] as showing trace of the Mahāyānic kāya conceptions. It is not impossible to read some metaphysical ideas into the passage, though probably the compiler of the Suttas did not mean to convey them. Doṇa brāhmaṇa, noticing the sign of the wheel in the feet of Buddha, enquired of him whether he was a deva, a gandhabba, a yakkha or a mortal. Buddha replied that he was none of these beings as he had got rid of the āsavas (impurities) by the continuance of which one remains a deva, gandhabba, yakkha or mortal. Just as a lotus is born in water, grows in it but remains above and is apart from it, so also Buddha was born in the world, grew up in it but overcame it (abhibhuyya) and lived unaffected by the same. Therefore, he asked the brāhmaṇa not to regard him as anything but Buddha.

There are other passages referring to the miraculous powers of Buddha, *viz.*, his ability to live a kalpa or to assume different forms and perform such other miracles; but it will be noticed that these powers were attributed not to Buddha alone but also to his disciples in general, who had been able to attain the higher stages of sanctification.[3]

Kāya-conceptions of the Theravādins remained unchanged

Even if it be assumed that the Mahāyānic ideas are latent in the above-mentioned expressions though not adequately expressed, the discussion in the *Kathāvatthu* to establish the historical existence of Buddha as against those who denied it, and the manner in which references were made to the events of Buddha's life as depicted in the Nikāyas leaves no vestige of doubt about the opinion of the Theravādins regarding the kāya of Buddha.[4]

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1 *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 38.

2 Prof. Masson-Oursel in his article "Les trois Corps du Bouddha", *J. A.*, 1913, pp. 581ff.

3 See Kośa, II, 10 (also for references in the Nikāyas).

4 K. V., xvii, 1: The Vetulyakas held on the basis of the passage cited above (no. 4) that "it is not right to say that 'the exalted Buddha lived in the world of mankind.' The Theravādins did not agree with them. Buddhaghosa also pointed out how the passage should be interpreted.

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Though the terms rūpakāya and dharmakāya found their way into the later Pāli works[1] from Mahāyāna or semi-Mahāyāna works, they did not bring with them any non-realistic sense. Buddhaghosa even as late as the fifth century A.C. refers thus to the kāyas: "yo pi so Bhagavā asīti anuvyañjanapaṭimaṇḍita-dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa-vicitra-rūpakāyo sabbākāraparisuddha-sīlakkhandhādi-guṇaratana-samiddha-dhammakāyo yasamahatta-puññamahatta.....appaṭipuggalo arahaṃ sammāsambuddho ('that Bhagavā, who is possessed of a beautiful rūpakāya, adorned with eighty minor signs and thirty-two major signs of a great man, and possessed of a dharmakāya purified in every way and glorified by sīla, samādhi, etc.[2], full of splendour and virtue, incomparable and fully awakened').[3]

In short, the early Hīnayānists conceived the Buddha's rūpakāya as that of a human being,[4] and his dhammakāya as the collection of his dhammas, i.e. doctrines and disciplinary rules collectively.

Conception of the Sarvāstivādins

The other school, the Sarvāstivādins, who retained the realistic conception of Buddha, differed a little from the Theravādins. Unfortunately their original Piṭakas in Sanskrit are lost beyond recovery and we have to depend for our information about them on the few fragmentary pieces of their literature discovered in Central Asia, or on the Chinese translations of their Āgamas, in which again very little spade-work has yet been done.[5] Our main source of information at present is the *Abhidharmakośa*, made accessible to us from Chinese by the monumental translation in French by Prof. Vallée

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1 See e.g. *Sad. Sań.* (JPTS.) 1890, p. 69:
Sambuddhānaṃ dve kāyā rūpakāyo sirīdharo/
Yo tehi desito dhammo dhammakāyo ti vuccati//

2 The five khandhas referred to here are, sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimutti and vimuttiñāṇadassana. See *Mil.*, p. 98.

3 *Vism.*, p. 234; *Atthasālinī*, p. 13: 'Nimittabuddha'; *Jātaka*, I, p. 84: 'Rūpakāyasirī'.

4 See Prof. Vallée Poussin's *Bouddhisme*, pp. 232f.

5 Dr. Chizen Akanuma (Eastern Buddhist, II, p. 7) quotes some passages from the Chinese Aṅguttara and Saṃyukta Āgamas and shows that the dharmakāya of Buddha denoted the collection of dharmas (teachings).

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Poussin. The Kośa, again, it should be noted, is the work of a systematiser and the production of a time much later than that of the Āgamas, to which it bears the same relation as the Visuddhimagga does to the Pāli Piṭakas. As the present state of our knowledge indicates that the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Lalitavistara*[1] originally belonged to this school, though they were recast by the Mahāyānists, we must examine with caution some of the statements found in them regarding the kāya conception.

(*i*) *Divyāvadāna*

There are a few passages in the Divyāvadāna throwing light on the rūpakāya and dharmakāya of Buddha and bearing the identical sense of the Pāli works. On one occasion Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa said that, through the grace of his teacher, he had seen the dharmakāya of Buddha, but as he was anxious to see the rūpakāya, he wanted to go to the place where Buddha was living at the time.[2] Upagupta once said to Māra that he had seen the dharmakāya only and requested him to show him the rūpakāya. Māra thereupon made an image (vigraha) of Buddha replete with all the major and minor signs of great men.[3] In the answer that king Rudrāyaṇa gave to Bimbisāra that "na rājan kṛpaṇo loke dharmakāyena saṃspṛśet" (let not, O King, an irreligious person[4] attain (lit. touch) the dharmakāya), the word "dharmakāya" may bear a metaphysical interpretation but the context does not warrant it.[5] The remark made by Asoka, after Upagupta had pointed out to him the stūpa of Ānanda, makes the sense of dharmakāya quite explicit. It runs thus: 'That body which you all call pure, excellent and made of dharma (dharmātmano dharmamayo) was borne (dhāritaṃ) by him called Viśoka (=Ānanda) and therefore his stūpa deserves great honour. The lamp of dharma, the dispeller of the darkness of afflictions that burnt still among men was due to the power of him, the son of Sugatendra, and therefore, should be worshipped with special reverence.'[6]

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1 Winternitz, Geschichte etc., II, p. 194.

2 Divyā., p. 19. 3 Divyā., p. 360.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 560: kṛpaṇa is defined thus:
yas tu dharmavirāgārtham adharme nirato nṛpaḥ/
sa rājan kṛpaṇo jñeyas tamastamaḥparāyaṇaḥ//

5 *Ibid.*, p. 560.

6 Divyā., pp. 396-7. Cf. Przyluski, Asoka, p. 408: In connection

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There are, however, Avadānas in the Divyāvadāna, which were not without some Mahāyānic tint, for, we read in the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna,[1] as we usually find in the Mahāyānic works, that rays of light issued forth from Buddha's mouth when he smiled, irradiating the beings of heaven and hell. It is noteworthy that the Atthasālinī[2] also speaks of raśmis (rays of light) of six colours issuing out of Buddha's body. It seems that the Mahāyānic ideas were percolating gradually into the rocky soil of the conservative Theravādins.

(*ii*) *Lalitavistara*

The *Lalitavistara* gives us a picture of Buddha more superhuman than human and yet far from the Mahāyānic conceptions of the Sambhogakāya and Dharmakāya, though in the last two chapters it dwells on the doctrine of Tathatā. In the *Lalitavistara* Buddha is deified but there are no traces of the Trikāya conception. It says in many places that Buddha appears in the world of men for *lokānuvartana* (i.e. to follow the ways of the world), which, if he so desired, he could avoid by remaining in one of the heavens and attaining emancipation there. The running account of Buddha's life is interrupted at times,—probably they are afterthoughts of the complier—by dialogues between Buddha and Ānanda, in order to make the treatise appear Mahāyānic and not Hīnayānic. At one place Buddha explains to Ānanda that, unlike human beings, he did not stay in the filth of mother's womb but in a jewel-casket (ratnavyūha)[4] placed in the womb, which was as hard as adamant but soft to the touch like the down of a Kācilindika bird, and that his birth and other events connected with it were all superhuman. At the same time he prophesies that there will be, in the future, men unrestrained in act, thought and speech, ignorant, faithless, proud, believing without deliberation what is heard by them, who will not believe in the superhuman nature of his birth.[5] One can perceive through the poetical exaggerations of

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with the destruction of the law, Mahāmāyā exclaiming "Ceux qui sont nés du Corps de la Loi (dharmakāya), ou sont-ils allés?

1 Divyā., xxxvii, p. 568. 2 Attha., p. 16.

3 E.g. *Mtu.*, I, pp. 168, 170.

4 *Lal. Vis.*, pp. 88, 105, 106. This formed one of the points of contention of the Mahāsāṅghikas. See Masuda, Early Origin &c. in the Asia Major, vol. II.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 87ff. This goes against the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda conceptions.

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the *Lalitavistara* that it has in view the historical Buddha endowed with the major and minor signs—a human being after all, who requires to be reminded by the heavenly musicians of the acts of his past lives and his resolution to become a Buddha and rescue beings from misery, and who needs a stimulus to renounce the world in order to fulfil his resolution.[1] In connection with the offer of houses which was made by the gods to the Bodhisattva when he was in the womb, it is said that in order to please all the gods who offered houses he caused the the appearance of his pregnant mother Māyādevī in each of those houses by means of the Mahāvyūha samādhi. This does not clearly reflect any idea of Nirmāṇakāya—it appears more like some of the miracles mentioned in the Nikāyas. In the last chapter of the *Lalitavistara* where Buddha's attributes are mentioned, he is called the great tree (mahādruma), because he possesses a body of Dharmakāyajñāna (the knowledge of Dharmakāya).[2] As this chapter is very likely a Mahāyānic addition, we may reasonably say that the *Lalitavistara* in its original form as a treatise of the Sarvāstivādins viewed Buddha as a human being with superhuman attributes.

(*iii*) *Abhidharmakoṣa*

We may now consider the writings of Vasubandhu, the great exponent of the Sarvāstivāda school. In his *Abhidharmakośa* he imported a new meaning into the words Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya. In examining the three Śaraṇas, he tried to bring out the real sense of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha in which a Buddhist takes refuge. He said that those who take refuge in Buddha do, in fact, take refuge in the dharmas (qualities) which constitute a Buddha (buddhakāraka), i.e. the dharmas by the acquisition of which a certain person is called a Buddha, or in other words, the dharmas by the acquisition of which a person understands all things. These dharmas are kṣayajñāna (knowledge of the destruction of misery), anutpādajñāna[3] (knowledge

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1 The descriptions gave opportunity to the Mahāyānists to invent Upāyakauśalya Pāramitā, the duties of Adhyeṣaṇā, Yācanā, etc.

2 Lal. Vis., p. 428.

3 Kośa, VI, 67 explains that Kṣayajñāna with Anutpādajñāna makes Bodhi. On account of difference among saints in the acquisition of these jnānas, Bodhi is said to be of three kinds: Śrā-

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of the further non-origination of misery), and samyagdṛṣṭi (right view) of the Aśaikṣas together with the dharmas attendant on the jñāna, viz. the five pure skandhas. A dharmakāya is formed of these dharmas. In another place, while showing the sameness of the Dharmakāyas of all Buddhas, he explained the Dharmakāya as a series of pure dharmas, or rather a renewal of the psycho-physical organism of the substratum (anāsravadharmasaṃtāna, āśrayaparāvṛtti).[1] The Dharmakāya then signifies a new purified personality or substratum (āśraya), but it is pointed out that such a dharmakāya is possessed also by an arhat.[2] In the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*[3] such a dharmakāya is also attributed to the mother of Śākyamuni or to an advanced upāsaka. Thus we see that the Kośa has two interpretations of the Dharmakāya, one being the qualities adhering to a Buddha and the other the purified personality (āśraya) possessed by him. The Kośa, in fact, replaces the concrete conceptions of the Dharmakāya found in the Nikāyas and the Divyāvadāna by an abstract one. In the last two works the Dharmakāya signified only the doctrines, *viz.*, the Bodhipakkhiya dharmas or Anicca, Dukkha and Anātma, together with the Vinaya rules contained in the Pātimokkha, while to Vasubandhu it meant the qualities adhering to a Buddha as well as the purified personality (āśraya).

Referring to the formulæ of the Śaraṇas, Vasubandhu says that as the physical body (rūpakāya) of Buddha does not uudergo any

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vakabodhi, Pratyekabuddhabodhi and Anuttarasamyaksambodhi. By the above two jñānas one completely abandons ignorance (aśeṣāvidyāprahāṇāt); by the first, one realises the truth that his task is accomplished (i.e. the duḥkha has been realised by him); by the second, one realises that his task is no more to be accomplished, (i.e. the duḥkha has been realised by him and he will not have to labour any more).

The samyagdṛṣṭi of the Aśaikṣas is to see things as they are really, to know truly the general character (sāmānyalakṣaṇa) of dharmas. See Kośa, VI, 50 fn. For a note on the Kṣayajñāna, see Masuda, 'Origin of Schools etc.', in *Asia Major*, vol. II, Fasc. I.

1 Kośa, VII. 34 for the sense of āśraya see *Ibid.*, VIII, 34 fn. Cf. āśraya parśuddhi, Sūtrā, p. 186 l. 1.

2 *Kośa*, IV, 56.

3 Hüber, *Sutrālaṃkāra*, pp. 217, 390 quoted in the Fr. Transl. of the *Kośa*, VII. 32 p. 81.

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modification by the acquisition of the quality of Buddha, one should not take refuge in the rūpakāya of Buddha, which is, in fact, the rūpakāya of the Bodhisattva and hence sāsrava (impure). Just as a man would respect a monk for the qualities adhering to him and not for his person, so a Buddhist should take refuge in Buddhatva and not in Buddha the person. In the same way Vasubandhu explains the two other śaraṇas, *viz.*, Dharma and Saṅgha, the former being explained as Nirvāṇa, or the three Truths—Duḥkha, Samudaya and Mārga, or Sukha, Duḥkha and Asukha-aduḥkha—and the latter as the qualities that a saṅgha of monks is expected to possess.[1]

The Vibhāṣā informs us that there are some who believe that to take refuge in Buddha is to take refuge in the body constituted by the head, nape of the neck, belly, back, hands and feet of the Tathāgata. Some say that as the body is born of parents, it is impure (sāsrava) and therefore it should not be a place of refuge. The refuge should be the Aśaikṣa dharmas, which make a Buddha, i.e., the Dharmakāya.[2] Apparently the Vibhāṣā refers in the first case to the earlier Hīnayāna schools and in the second to the Sarvāstivādins and their followers.

Similar Dharmakāya Conception among the Satyasiddhis and the Mahāyānists

The Satyasiddhi school takes almost the same view of the Dharmakāya as the Sarvāstivādins. According to it the Dharmakāya is made of śīla, samādhi, prajñā, vimukti and vimuktijñānadarśana-dharmakāyas. Buddhaghosa, Nāgārjuna and the writer of the *Milinda-pañha* also refer to such a dharmakāya.[3] It means that the body of Buddha was purified by the practices of these five skandhas, and hence it can be called Dharmakāya. But as these purifications are obtained by Arhats also, Harivarman, the founder of the Satyasiddhi school, distinguished the Dharmakāya of Buddha by saying that his dharmakāya consisted not only of the above five purificatory practices but also of ten powers (daśa bala), four proficiencies (vaiśā-

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1 Compare the formulæ of Śaraṇa in the Nikāyas, e.g. *Dīgha*, III, p. 227.

2 *Kośa.*, VI, p. 32; IV, p. 76n.; VIII, p. 34.

3 *Visṃ.* p. 234; *M. Vṛ.* (as opinion of non-Mādhyamikas), p. 433; *Mil.*, p. 98.

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radya) and the three recollections (smṛtyupasthāna), which the Arhats cannot obtain.[1]

The *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*[2] and the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,[3] important text-books of the Yogācāra school, define the Dharmakāya with a similar sense. They say that the various dharmas, *viz.*, Bodhipakṣikas, Apramāṇas, Vimokṣas, Samāpattis and so forth, constitute Sarvajñatā (omniscience) and Sarvajñatā is the Dharmakāya. It should be noted that the Kārikā and the Prajñāpāramitā use this expression in a sense different from that current in the Mahāyāna texts. It is really the Svasambhogakāya of the later Vijñānavādins.

The Prajñāpāramitās also maintain the conception that Dharmakāya is produced by dharmas, the highest of which is, according to them, the prajñāpāramitā, i.e. the knowledge which helps a person to realise the dharma-śūnyatā. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* takes up the question whether the honour shown to the relics of the Tathāgatakāya is more meritorious than the honour shown to the Prajñāpāramitā, e.g., by making a copy of it. The answer given is that the relics depend on the body purified by the prajñāpāramitā, and therefore it is the source of Buddhas. The source deserves more honour than the remnants of the fruit (i.e. relics of Buddha) produced therefrom, and therefore it is more meritorious to honour the Prajñāpāramitā than the relics.[4] It adds that all teachings of Buddha issue from the Prajñāpāramitā and the Dharmabhāṇakas preserve and propagate them; so the Dharmabhāṇakas should also be respected. They are protected by the Dharmakāya, the Prajñāpāramitā. *Sarvajñatā* (omniscience) is predominated (paribhāvita) by the prajñāpāramitā; from *sarvajñatā* issues the body of Tathāgata, the relics of whom are worshipped; hence prajñāpāramitā deserves greater honour.[5]

Hīnayānic speculations: (*a*) *Whether rūpakāya is vipākaja?*

The Kośa maintains that the rūpakāya of Buddha endowed with the major and minor signs is the result of the excellent karmas of his

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1 Y. Sogen, *Systems, etc.*, pp. 181, 182.

2 *Kārikā*, ch. viii.

3 *Pañcaviṃśati*, (ASB. ms.) l. 224a.

4 *Aṣṭa.*, ch. iv.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 99. It is from this conception that the Prajñāpāramitā is addressed as the mother of Buddhas.

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previous lives. According to it, even the Buddhas cannot escape the effects of their karma. The schism created by Devadatta in the saṅgha is attributed to a deed in one of the previous lives of Śākyamuni. The *Vyākhyā* and the *Vibhāṣā* explain that it happened to Śākyamuni only, and not to any other Buddhas, because in one of his former lives he divided by dissension the disciples of an ascetic, possessed of five abhijñās.[1] That the Buddhas enjoy or suffer the effects of karma is also maintained by the *Divyāvadāna*[2] and the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[3] The *Divyāvadāna* refers to a saying of Śākyamuni that even the Jinas themselves are not free from their karmas, while the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that a Tathāgata performs good deeds in his previous lives, and as a result of those he enjoys in the present pure, and pleasant sensations (vedanā) only. Tradition says that when Buddha was hurt by the splinter of stone thrown by Devadatta, he said that ninety-one kalpas ago he had hurt a person by a spear, as the result of which evil deed, he now received a wound.

The *Milindapañha*, however, takes a different view of this matter. Admitting that Devadatta created a schism in the saṅgha, it says that as the schism was not created by any act of Buddha's own and as it was caused by an external influence, it should be said that Buddha as the result of his *karma* had an undivided assembly (abhejjapariso). In a similar way it explains away the wound or the illnesses from which Buddha suffered. First it asserts that Buddha attained omniscience after uprooting all roots of evil (akusalamūlas); so he could not have any more sufferings through *karma*. It then says that apart from *karma* there are other causes like the three humours, seasons, etc. which produce 'vedanā' (feelings). According to it, the wound that Buddha received was due to an 'opakammika' (accidental) cause and his illnesses to causes other than *karma*.

(*b*) *Was Buddha a jarāyuja or upapāduka?*

In order to remove doubt from the minds of the people as to the nature of the birth of so great and meritorious a being as the Bodhisattva in his last existence—a doubt expressed also in the *Lalitavistara*, where a ratnavyūha has been devised for the Bodhisattva's abode in his mother's womb—the Kośa[4] proceeds to show that the

1 *Kośa*, VII. 34, p. 8 fn., 84; IV, 102, p. 212 fn. 2.
2 *Divyā*., p. 416 3 *Majjhima*, III, p. 227.
4 *Kośa*, III, 9.

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Bodhisattvas possess the power of choosing the manner of their birth (upapattivaśitva), and that Śākyamuni chose birth in a uterus (jarāyu) with two objects. One was to benefit the Śākya clan and at the same time not to give opportunity to the people to consider him a magician or a god or a demon, and the other was to leave some relics of his body, by worshipping which men and other beings would go to heaven by thousands, or attain deliverance.

The Mahāsāṅghikas and their followers[1] assert that Śākyamuni was an upapāduka (self-born), and that even his son Rāhula was also an upapāduka, for Bodhisattvas cannot have kāma. They assert that Bodhisattvas are possessed of 'ādhiṣṭhāniki ṛddhi' (i.e. the power of appearing anywhere and in any form), and that by that power Śākyamuni made a seeming show of his existence in the womb of Māyā. They conceived Buddha as *lokottara* (transcendental), and Śākyamuni as only a phantom (Nirmāṇakāya). The transcendental Buddha has a rūpakāya which is limitless, everlasting, free from all sāsrava dharmas. He is always in samādhi,[2] never sleeps or dreams, can know everything in an instant of thought. He knows neither fatigue nor rest, and is ever busy in enlightening sentient beings. His power and his life are limitless. For the benefit of sentient beings he appears at will in any one of the six gatis. Whatever he utters relates to the truth, though people may understand him differently. In short, the Mahāsāṅghikas conceived Buddha as a totally supermundane being with illimitable powers and knowledge, who never desired to attain Nirvāṇa.[3]

Kāya conception at the beginning of Mahāyāna

The Mahāyānists incorporated the Nirmāṇakāya conception of the Mahāsāṅghikas into their Trikāya theory, adding the two other, Sambhogakāya and Dharmakāya, the former approaching the Mahāsāṅghika conception of the transcendental Buddha, while the latter was a new philosophic conception of the Mahāyānists.

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1 Eg. the Vetulyakas (Kathāvatthu).

2 *Cf. Laṅkā.*, p. 240: sadā samāhitāś ca tathāgatāḥ.

3 For details see Masuda's Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools, *Asia Major*, vol. II, fasc. I; Anesaki's article in the E. R. E., sv. Docetism (Buddhist); Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 249-251. See also *Kośa*, III, 9 referring to *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 145, 154.

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These new Kāya conceptions, it seems, did not make much of an appeal at the beginning of Mahāyāna. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* tried to erase any lingering impression about the historical existence of Śākyamuni. In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*[1] we find Maitreya Bodhisattva, assuming the rôle of a sceptic and enquiring how Buddha could, within a short space of forty years after the attainment of Bodhi at Gayā, perform the innumerable duties of a Tathāgata and lead incalculable bodhisattvas to Buddhahood. It appears like the paradox of a man of twenty-five years claiming centenarians as his sons and the latter calling him their father. Similarly Buddha's pointing to Bodhisattvas who had been performing the various duties conducive to Buddhahood for many millions of years as his disciples appears paradoxical. Maitreya says further that in the minds of those Bodhisattvas who recently became Mahāyānists (navayānasamprasthitāḥ) there may be doubts of this nature ; so the Tathāgata should explain the paradox for the welfare of the religion. Buddha then asks his audience thrice to believe his words (avakalpayadhvam abhiśraddadhvaṃ), and says, "It is not to be considered (naiva draṣṭavyam) that Bhagavān Śākyamuni lately leaving his family attained Bodhi at Gayā. I attained sambodhi incalculable ages ago[2], and since then I have been preaching the dharma. All that I have said about the previous Tathāgatas, Dīpaṅkara etc., and their parinirvāṇa were all my own creations. They were only my expedients for imparting the dharma (upāyakauśalyadharmadeśanābhinirhāranirmitāni). All that I have said to the effect that I was young, recently born, left home, and attained Bodhi, was to appeal to a class of people who otherwise would not have been convinced of the excellence of the religion and derive benefits therefrom. But all that I said was not untrue, as the Tathāgatas know what the three dhātus really are ; they know that the dhātus neither are born nor die, neither produce nor non-produce, neither exist nor non-exist ; neither are they the same nor different, and they are neither true nor false. All that the Tathāgatas say is true, but people devoid of right knowledge construe different meanings out of it. Though I have not attained parinirvāṇa, I say that I have attained it. In order to rouse curiosity in the minds of the people and a desire to see Buddha, I say that the appearance of a Buddha is an exceedingly rare event. I made a show of the Nirvāṇa, but did not enter into it, but people with distorted views could not

1 *Sad. P.*, pp. 311ff.

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see my real self, and busied themselves with the worship of my relics. But this also produced a good effect, for they thereby became righteous and gave up their passions. From among them I formed my śrāvakasaṅgha, and showed myself at Gṛdhrakūṭa, and explained to them how to attain the agrabodhi."

In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[1] Ruciraketu and Kauṇḍilya the brāhmaṇa play the rôle of the sceptics. The former enquires why Śākyamuni, who performed so many meritorious deeds, should have such a short span of life as eighty years. The latter seeks a mustard-like relic of Buddha's body to worship and thus go to heaven. Ruciraketu is told by the Buddhas of all lokadhātus that they did not know any man or god who could calculate the length of Śākyamuni's life. They said that it might be possible to count the drops of water in a sea but it would be impossible to ascertain the length of his life. Kauṇḍilya brāhmaṇa, who only feigned ignorance, was told by Litsavikumāra that, just as it is absurd to expect cocoanuts from a rose-apple tree, so it is absurd to expect a relic from the Buddhakāya. The Tathāgatas have no origin, they are ever existing and inconceivable. It is only the Nirmitakāya that is shown by them. How can a body, in which there is no bone or blood, have a dhātu (relic)? Buddhas have only Dharmakāya and there is only the Dharmadhātu.

Nirmāṇakāya

The Mahāyānic texts tried to show, on the one hand, that the Hīnayānists were wrong in their belief that Śākyamuni was really a man of flesh and blood and that relics of his body existed, while on the other hand, they introduced the two conceptions of Nirmāṇakāya and Buddhakāya. Whatever is said to have been done by Śākyamuni is accounted for by these texts as the apparent doings of a phantom of the Buddhakāya, a shadowy image created to follow the ways of the world (lokānuvartana),[2] in order to bring conviction to the hearts of the people that the attainment of Buddhahood was not an impossibility. As the Buddhas possess the knowledge of all that is to be done (kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna),[3] they can take any form they desire for the illumination of the various classes of beings. The Mahāyānic conception of the Nirmāṇakāya is essentially the same as that of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

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1 *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (B.T.S. ed.), pp. 4-8. 2 Cf. *Mtu.*, I, pp. 168, 170.

3 One of the four jñānas peculiar to Buddha, see *Mvyut.*, p. 2.

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The Prajñāpāramitās in their quaint way refer to the Nirmāṇakāya or Rūpakāya. The *Pañcaviṃśati* says that a bodhisattva after acquiring all the necessary dharmas and practising prajñāpāramitā, becomes Sambuddha. He then renders service to beings of all lokadhātus (worlds) of the ten corners at all times by Nirmāṇamegha (Nirmāṇa-clouds). This is called the Nairmāṇikā-kāya.[1]

From the Chinese sources[2] we are informed that Nāgārjuna in his commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā, called the Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra, speaks of two kāyas, rūpakāya and dharmakāya. The former is the body born of parents, possessing the qualities of sentient beings, and is subject to human frailties. It was born in Kośala while his dharmakāya was born at Rājagṛha. The material body was necessary for "earthly truth." It was for the deliverance of beings that Buddha assumed different bodies, different names, birth-places and ways of emancipation. This interpretation of rūpa- and dharma-kāyas is also followed in the Chinese *Parinirvāṇasūtra* and *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*.[3]

Some of the Yogācāra texts furnish us with the following information regarding the conception of Nirmāṇakāya as prevailing among the Yogācārins :

(i) The *Sūtrālaṅkāra*[4] explains the Nirmāṇakāya to be those forms which are assumed by Buddhas to render service to beings of the various worlds. It generally refers to the human form that Buddha takes in order to make a show of his acquiring the ordinary arts and crafts required by an average man, living a family life and then retiring from it, and ultimately attaining Nirvāṇa by recourse to ascetic practices.

(ii) The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* tells us that the Nirmāṇakāya is meant for Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Pṛthagjanas (common men) and Bodhisattvas, who are not yet in one of the ten bhūmis. It may appear in all lands whether pure or impure.[5] The Chinese commentaries on the *Siddhi* mention the various ways, in which Buddha can transform his body or another's body or voice, and his or others' mind, to suit his purpose. Not only could he transform himself into Śākya-

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1 *Pañcaviṃśati* (Cambr. ms.) 343b.

2 C. Akanuma, E. B., II, pp. 17ff. ; Masuda, *Die Individualistische Idealismus*, etc., p. 60.

3 *E. B.*, II, pp. 21f.

4 *Sūtrā.*, p. 45.

5 Masuda, *Die Individualistische*, etc., p. 60.

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muni, or Śāriputra into a young girl, but he could also create an altogether new apparitional body, not, of course, a living, thinking being.[1] Often he assumed the voice of Brahmā or expressed himself through the mouth of Śāriputra or Subhūti, and it was for this reason that we find Śāriputra or Subhūti explaining some of the abstruse Mahāyāna teachings, which they themselves were not expected to understand.[2] The third way in which he could transform his voice was to produce sounds from the sky. His thoughts were supramundane (lokottara) and pure (anāsrava). He could produce in his mind any thought he liked ; in fact, he appeared in his Nirmitakāya as Śākyamuni with a mind (citta) suited to the ways of the world. He could also impose his thoughts on the minds of others.

(iii) The *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* thinks that there are four kāyas, of which the Svābhāvikakāya is real, and the three others, viz., Dharmakāya (= Svasambhogakāya), Sambhogakāya (= Parasambhogakāya) and Nirmāṇakāya are sāṃvṛta (i.e. unreal) which are meant for Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas respectively. According to it, the Nirmāṇakāya was intended for Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, who are not yet in one of the ten bhūmis. It describes the Nirmāṇakāya as a body unsevered from the real kāya ; and as the actions performed by it are similarly unsevered from the kāya, they should be regarded as asaṃsāra (transcendental, i.e. not worldly). Then it proceeds to show that the thirty-seven kinds of purificatory actions performed by the Nirmāṇakāya are really the actions of the Dharmakāya. The thirty-seven actions, as explained by it, are the thirty-seven steps through which a Nirmāṇakāya passes after its inception. They are as follows :[3] A Nirmāṇakāya (i) is unmindful of good or bad forms of existence ; in other words, takes birth as an animal, human being or god as necessities require—this is called *gatipraśamam* ; (ii) practises the four *saṃgrahavastus* (elements of popularity) ; (iii) enlightens himself about matters opposite and similar, good and evil, by the *śrutamayi* and such other means of knowledge, and then applies himself to the service of others, keeping himself unconcerned (i.e. having no *anunaya*, like a magician (for the things made by him magically) ; (iv) prac-

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1 I have derived this information from Prof. de la Vallée Poussin.

2 See *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 14, 33, 414.

3 *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, p. 604.

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tises the six pāramitās purified in three ways *trimaṇḍalaviśuddhi*); (v) performs and persuades others to perform, the ten *kuśalakarmapathas* (moral duties) and thus establish all in the path leading to Buddhahood; (vi) exerts for realising the non-existence in reality of all things; (vii) comprehends the non-duality of things and the all-pervasiveness of the dharma-dhātu, and so on, until he reaches the Tathāgatabhūmi after realising the absence of difference between things constituted and unconstituted.[1] In short, the *Kārikā* wants to say that the whole course of life of a Bodhisattva, extending through incalculable births, is nothing but the Nirmāṇakāya, a thing not separate from the Dharmakāya, as, in fact, according to the Mahāyāna philosophy, all creations are neither the same as, nor different from, the dharmadhātu.

(iv) The *Laṅkāvatāra* explains the relation of the Nirmāṇakāya to the Dharmakāya in the same way. It states that the Nirmitabuddhas are not produced by actions; the Tathāgata is neither in them nor outside them (sarve hi nirmitabuddhā na karmaprabhavā na teṣu tathāgato na cānyatra tebhyas tathāgataḥ).[2] It is only when the sons of the Jina realise the visible world to have no existence apart from the *citta* that they obtain the Nirmāṇakāya free from *kriyā* and *saṃskāra*, and endowed with *bala*, *abhijñā* and *vaśitā*.[3] Like the *Siddhi*, it says that the Tathāgatas by creating Nirmāṇakāya perform the various duties of a Tathāgata (Tathāgatakṛtya).[4] It gives also the interesting information that Vajrapāṇi serves as an attendant on the Nirmitanirmāṇabuddhas, and not on the real Buddhas[5]: and that the function of such a Buddha is to preach and explain the characteristics of dāna, śīla, dhyāna, samādhi, citta, prajñā, jñāna, skandha, dhātu, āyatana, vimokṣa, and vijñāna.[6]

Saṁbhogakāya

We have seen that the Rupakāya or Nirmāṇakāya was meant for the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Pṛthagjanas and Bodhisattvas who were not in one of the ten bhūmis, so another kāya had to be devised, a very subtle kāya, for the benefit of the Bodhisattvas. This is called

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1 *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*, (A.S.B. ms.) l. 5b; also *J. A.*, 1913, pp. 599, 600.
2 *Laṅkā.*, p. 242.
3 *Laṅkā.*, p. 73.
4 Ibid., p. 240.
5 Ibid., p. 242.
6 Ibid., p. 57.

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Parasambhogakāya, as distinguished from Svasambhogakāya, a similar subtle body perceived by the Buddhas alone. It is this Parasambhogakāya which plays the role of a preacher of the various Mahāyāna sūtras, the scenes being mostly laid either at Gṛdhrakūṭa, the only place in the three dhātus considered pure and suitable for the appearance of a Sambhogakāya, or in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha, or in one of the heavens.

It will be observed from the description of the appearance of Buddha and his manner of preaching the Sūtras that the Mahāyānists were not yet able to forget or rise above the human conception of the Hīnayānists. They still give Śākyamuni the rôle of the presiding Buddha of the universe, to whom flock reverently with flowers, incense etc. all the Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and Gṛhapatis of the various lokadhātus of the ten directions, to hear from him the Prajñāpāramitā, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or the Gaṇḍavyūha. These Bodhisattvas again have their own tutelary Buddhas, who, according to the Mahāyāna metaphysics, possess the same Dharmakāya as Śākyamuni. They also come or are sometimes sent by their Buddhas, with messages of greetings and flowers as tokens of their regard, to Śākyamuni Buddha, whose Buddhakṣetra is at present the Sahā-lokadhātu. Sometimes the descriptions go so far as to say that the Buddhas themselves came to hear discourses from Śākyamuni Buddha, and the concourse of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas became so great that the Sahā-lokadhatu had to be cleared of all oceans, mountains, seas, rivers, and cities, as well as gods, men and other beings. As we read in the Hīnayāna texts that monks used to come to meet Buddha, bringing with them one or two sāmaṇeras, so also we read in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka that on account of insufficiency of space the countless Buddhas could not bring with them more than one or two Bodhisattvas as attendants (upasthāpakas).[1]

Now let us see what was their conception of the Kāya of this Buddha. According to the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*,[2] it is an exceedingly refulgent body, from every pore of which streamed forth countless brilliant rays of light, illuminating the lokadhātus as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. When this body stretched out its tongue, innumerable rays of light

1 *Sad. P.*, pp. 244-245.

2 *Śata.*, pp. 8-29; *Pañcaviṃśati*, pp. 6ff.; For 'Āsecanaka' see Samādhirājasūtra, (B. T. S. ed.), p. 10.

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issued forth from it, and on each ray of light was found a lotus of thousand petals on which was seated a Tathāgatavigraha (an image of the Tathāgata, a sort of Nirmāṇakāya), preaching to Bodhisattvas, Gṛhasthas (householders), Pravrajitas (recluses) and others the dharma consisting of the six pāramitās. After a Siṃhavikrīḍita samādhi his body illuminated the trisāhasramahāsahasra lokadhātu just as the bright clear sun or the full moon illuminates the world. Buddha then shows his *Prakṛtyātmabhāva* (real form) to all the worlds. The several classes of gods as well as the men of the four continents, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodāna etc., see this *Prakṛtyātmabhāva* and think that the Tathāgata is sitting before them and preaching the doctrine. From this body again some rays of light issue forth by which all beings of all lokadhātus see Śākyamuni Buddha preaching the Prajñāpāramitās to his saṅgha of monks and congregation of Bodhisattvas.

Though this conception of the refulgent body of Buddha found currency in the Prajñāpāramitās, the expression Sambhogakāya was still unknown to them. It was usually called by them Prakṛtyātmabhāva (natural body) or Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva (All-diffusing body). As a matter of fact, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is not even aware of the *Prakṛtyātmbhāva* or *Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva*, showing clearly its priority to the other Prajñāpāramitās. It speaks only of Rūpakāya and Dharmakāya[1] and the long glorious description of Buddhakāya, which appears in the *Śata* and *Pañcaviṃśati* as 'nidāna' (introduction) to the text, is totally absent from it. It is only in the recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati* that the expression Sāṃbhogika-kāya was introduced by way of giving a gist of the topic.[2] In it the Sambhoga-kāya is described thus : Bodhisattvas, after attaining bodhi by means of the prajñāpāramitā, take a body endowed with thirty-two major and eighty minor signs with a view to preach the doctrines of Mahāyāna to the bodhisattvas and at the same time to arouse in their minds joy, delight and love for the excellent dharma[3]. The Prajñāpāramitās regarded this refulgent kāya as nirmita (created), and as such they included it in Rūpakāya and did not feel the necessity of introducing the conception of a third kāya, the Sāṃbhogika.

In keeping with this dvikāya theory of the Prajñāpāramitās, Nāgārjuna also did not refer to, or probably was not aware of, the third kāya, the Sāṃbhogika. Both Drs. Akanuma and Masuda could not

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1 *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 338, 497, 513.

2 & 3 *Pañcaviṃśati* (A.S.B. ms.) l, 359a : Iti Sāṃbhogika-kāyaḥ.

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trace the conception of Sambhogakāya in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra*. Dr. Akanuma also mentions his disinclination to accept the "Hymns of the Triple Body (Trikāya)" ascribed by the Tibetans to Nāgārjuna as a work of the famous Nāgārjuna.[1] If the *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna on the Tathāgatakāya[2] be examined, it also becomes apparent that Nāgārjuna was interested in giving an exposition of the real kāya (i.e. Dharmakāya or Svabhāvakāya) only. To him the distinction of Sambhogakāya and Rūpakāya was unimportant, as both of them were unreal.

Thus, we see that up to the time of Nāgārjuna, the conception of Sambhogakāya was not distinguished from that of Rūpa-or Nirmāṇakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra* presents us first with this conception, calling it Niṣyanda- or Dharmatā-niṣyanda-Buddha, and it seems that the term Sambhogakāya was not yet current. We have seen that in Hīnayāna works also it is pointed out that the super-excellent body of Buddha, endowed with the major and minor signs of great men, was due to the countless meritorious deeds performed by him in his previous lives[3]. The Chinese rendering of Sambhogakāya by *hsing fo*, in which *hsing* means fruit or reward, also indicates that Sambhoga had no other sense than 'vipāka or niṣyanda'. The later Yogācārins called it Parasambhogakāya in order to distinguish it from the other kāya called by them Svasambhoga. Though the Aṣṭasāhasrikā does not distinguish Sambhogakāya from the Nirmāṇakāya, it refers to the super-excellent body of Buddha as the result of his meritorious acts in previous lives.[4] The *Laṅkāvatāra* by using the expression Vipākaja or Vipākastha, shows a stage of transition from the Hīnayānic conception of Vipākaja-kāya to that of Mahāyānic Parasambhogakāya.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* says that the function of the Niṣyanda Buddha is to teach the *parikalpita* (imaginary) and *paratantra* (relatively existent) nature of things to those persons, who weave a net of thought-constructions around themselves being unaware of the dream-like nature of things.[5] This is also the function of Śākyamuni of

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1. *Eastern Buddhist*, II, pp. 17ff.
2. *M. Vṛ.*, ch. XXII.
3. *Laṅkā.*, pp. 28, 34 ; see ante, pp. 529-530.
4. *Aṣṭa.*, p. 515. Buddhānāṃ kāyaḥ kāraṇasamutpannaḥ pūrva-karmavipākād utpannaḥ, etc.
5. *Laṅkā.*, p. 57.

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the Sahālokadhātu when he imparts the teaching of the Prajñāpāramitās or the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.[1]

(ii) The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* also does not distinguish Sambhogakāya into Svasambhoga and Parasambhoga. It says that with this body Buddhas enjoy the dharmas and it is different according to the different lokadhātus, implying thereby that a Buddha of each lokadhātu has his own Sambhogakāya which is different from those of other Buddhas of other Buddhakṣetras.[2]

(iii & iv) The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* tell us that the Sambhogakāya is a very subtle body of Buddha. It is endowed with all the mahāpuruṣa signs and is generally assumed by Buddhas for imparting the higher and metaphysical truths to the advanced bodhisattvas. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[3] also does not speak of the two forms of Sambhogakāya, to be found in the *Siddhi*.

(v) The *Siddhi* says that there are two Sambhogakāyas called Parasambhogakāya and Svasambhogakāya. The former is seen by bodhisattvas, while the latter is seen by the Buddhas of the various lokadhātus, and not by bodhisattvas. As regards refulgence, illimitability and immeasurability there is no difference between these two kāyas. Both of them have colour and form (varṇa-rūpa-saṃsthāna) as well as sound (śabda). On account of the knowledge of sameness (samatā) obtained by Buddhas, the body is anāsrava (pure). It can appear only in a pure land like the Sukhāvatīvyūha or Gṛdhrakūṭa. The differences between the Para-sambhogakāya and the Sva-sambhogakāya are that the former has the mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas while the latter has not, and that the *citta* of the former is as unreal as that of the Nirmāṇakāya, while the *citta* of the latter is real, and besides, this *citta* possesses the four jñānas, viz., ādarśajñāna (mirror-like knowledge),[4] samatā-jñāna (knowledge of the sameness of all things), pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna (knowledge of distinguishing subject, object and the varieties of things) and kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna (knowledge of doing all that is to be done).[5] The rūpa of both the Sambhogakāyas is exceedingly subtle and expansive without limit, yet it is *sapratigha*

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1 The function of Nirmitabuddha is to teach dāna, śīla etc. see ante, p. 536.

2 Sūtrā., pp. 45-6.

3 Suzuki, *Outlines* etc., p. 257; in the published portion of the Sanskrit text (B. T. S.) this passage does not occur.

4 Cf. *Dīgha.*, II, p. 93 : Dhammādāsa.

5 Explained in detail in the *Sūtrā.*, pp. 46ff; *Mvyut.*, 5.

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(possessed of the quality of obstruction). Nevertheless the subtle bodies of countless Buddhas are interpenetrable.

The recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*[1] refers to the Sambhogakāya, and does not, like the *Kārikā*, distinguish between Dharmakāya (=Svasambhoga) and Parasāṃbhogikakāya, the reason being that in the original version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*, there must have been, as in the other Prajñāpāramitās, the conceptions of only two kāyas, and not of three or four. The *Kārikā*, in fact, supports the *Siddhi* in regard to the conception of kāyas, using only somewhat different names. The conception of the Svasambhogakāya shows a tendency of the Yogācāra school to posit something like the Īśvara of the Upaniṣads behind the phenomenal universe. The Dharmakāya corresponds to the impersonal absolute of the Vedānta, the Brahman, and the Sambhogakāya to the Īśvara when Brahman assumes name and form. Every Buddha, it should however be noted, has his own Sambhogakāya but all Buddhas have one Dharmakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also gives hints to this effect. It says that *abhāva* (absence of anything) is not Tathāgata, and again, as Tathāgata is described as 'Anutpādaanirodha', it has some meaning. It then denotes the Manomayadharmakāya[2]. It cannot be seen by non-Buddhists, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and even Bodhisattvas in one of the first seven bhūmis. Just as different names of one thing or one person like hasta, kara, pāṇi, or, Indra, Śakra, Purandara indicate different aspects of the same thing so also the different names of Śākyamuni Buddha in the Sahālokadhātu, e. g. Svāyambhuva, Nāyaka, Vṛṣabha, Viṣṇu, Īśvara, Pradhāna, Kapila, Soma, Bhāskara, Rāma, Vyāsa ; or, Śūnyatā, Tathatā Bhūtakoṭi, Nirvāṇa, Sarvajña etc. indicate the different aspects of Śākyamuni Buddha[3]. People being subject to the conceptions of two extremes 'is' or 'is not' (dvayāntapatitayā) do not know that Buddha is like a reflection of the moon on water neither appearing nor disappearing. In this passage there is a clear hint that this Manomayadharmakāya, existing in the Sahālokadhātu, is the same as the Svasambhogakāya of the *Siddhi* and the Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva or

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1 *Pañcaviṃśati* (A. S. B. ms) l. 359a. Cf. Śikṣā., p. 159 ; Bodhic., pp. 1, 4 ; Mtu., III, pp. 344, 452.

2 For definition of Manomayakāya and its three sub-divisions, see *Laṅkā*., p. 81 ; Suzuki, *E. B.*, iv, pp. 284-5.

3 *Laṅkā*., pp. 192-3 ; cf. Daśa., p. 55.

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Prakṛtyātmabhāva of the Prajñāpāramitās, and it corresponds to the Upaniṣadic conception of Īśvara.

Dharmakāya

The three Kāyas, of which we have so far spoken, belong strictly to the realm of Saṃvṛti, worldly and transcendental, and as such they were treated as Rūpa or Nirmāṇakāya by the early Mahāyānists, including Nāgārjuna. The only real kāya of Buddha is the Reality as conceived by the Mahāyānists, and is not different from the things or beings of the universe[1]. Though an attempt to define it by the current words and expressions is bound to be not only incorrect but misleading, the Mahāyānic texts tried to give an idea of it as far as the language permitted. The *Kārikā* and the *Siddhi* call it Svābhāvika or Svabhāva kāya. It is, according to them, immeasurable and illimitable. It fills all space. It is the basis of the Sambhoga- and Nirmāṇa-kāyas. It is devoid of all marks (i. e. mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas) and is inexpressible (niṣprapañca). It is possessed of eternal, real and unlimited guṇas. It has neither citta nor rūpa, and again it is not different from them. There is one and only one Dharmakāya. Buddhas may have their individual Sambhogakāyas but they have all one Dharmakāya[2]. It can only be realised within oneself and not described, for that would be like the attempt of the blind man to describe the sun, which he has never seen[3].

It is often questioned whether the conception of Dharmakāya can be traced in the Prajñāpāramitās and the works of Nāgārjuna, and whether the Prajñāpāramitās and works of Nāgārjuna admit of such a reality, or rather preach pure and simple negativism? To put in another way, was it the object of the Prajñāpāramitās and Nāgārjuna's works to point out only the incongruities of the world and worldly knowledge and avoid making any statement about the Reality or the truth?

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and other Prajñāpāramitās, though unrelenting in their negation of every possible statement about the reality, never assert that Tathatā or Śūnyatā or Dharmakāya in its real sense is also non-existing. The statements like 'tathatāvikārā

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1 In a Buddhist inscription of Battambang, a stanza in salutation of Buddha brings out this idea. See Le Museon, vol. VII.

2 Cf. Vis. M., p. 508 : Nirvāṇa is one for all Buddhas.

3 Masuda, op. cit., p. 59; Suzuki, *Awakening of Faith*, p. 62.

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nirvikārāvikalpā nirvikalpā' (Suchness is immutable, unchangeable, beyond percept and distinctions)[1] show rather a positive conception of the Reality than a purely negative one. In regard to the Dharmakāya also the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* makes similar statements. It says that he who knows that the dharmas, existing in the world or preached by the Tathāgata, have no more existence than things in a dream and, does not enquire whence the Tathāgata comes and where does he go, realises the Tathāgata through Dharmatā.[2] The Buddhakāya, that people speak of, arises through cause and condition like the sound of a flute; it has really no appearance or disappearance. Those who run after the form and voice of the Tathāgata and conceive of his appearance and disappearance is far from the Truth[3]. No further statements than this can be made about the Reality, for that would be again *prapañca*. When the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* asserts that Tathāgata does not exist, it refers to that Tathāgata as conceived by one on reading the Mahāyāna texts. Even the Bodhisattvas, unless and until they reach the tenth bhūmi, cannot extricate themselves from a conception of the Tathāgatakāya, however subtle it may be (e. g. the Svasambhogakāya). They are still under a delusion and it is this delusion that the Prajñāpāramitās endeavour to remove by asserting that there is no Tathāgata.

Nāgārjuna by denying the existence of a so-called Tathāgata does nothing more than what the Prajñāpāramitās endeavour to establish. His point is that, if *bhavasantati* (series of existence) be admitted then the existence of a Tathāgata should also be admitted,[4] for the Tathāgata represents the ultimate state of this *bhavasantati*; it is a

1 *Aṣṭa.*, p. 507; cf. another passage: yā ca tathāgatatathatā yā ca dharma-tathatā ekaivaiṣā tathatādvayādvaidhīkārādvayatathatā na kvacit tathatā na kutaścit tathatā na kasyacit tathatā tataḥ sa tathatādvayadvaidhīkārādvayatathatā. (That which is Tathāgata-tathatā and that which is all-things-tathatā are non-dual, one and the same. Tathatā is neither anywhere nor arises from anywhere, nor belongs to anything, hence as Tathatā does not belong to anybody; it is non-dual and one). For other passages of similar import, see *M. Vr.*, ch. xxii.

2 *Aṣṭa.*, p. 514: te dharmataya tathāgataṃ prajānāti. Cf. *M. Vr.*, p. 448: dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyāḥ.

3 *Aṣṭa.*, p. 513.

4 *M. Vr.*, p. 431: vidyata eva bhavasantatis tathāgatasadbhāvāt.

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state attained by a being after a long series of existence. As in reality (paramārthataḥ) there is no bhavasantati, there is also no Tathāgata—that being who is supposed to have become Tathāgata after practising mahākaruṇā and other virtues, and thereby attaining omniscience. If the Tathāgata had really existed, he would either be the same as five skandhas or different from them, or the skandhas would be in him or he in the skandhas, but as he is none of these nor any one of these is he, he cannot have any real existence. By these and other similar arguments Nāgārjuna asserts that there is no Tathāgata. By such denial he only establishes that the Tathāgata as the ultimate state of bhavasantati does not exist.

Candrakīrti, in support of Nāgārjuna's arguments, quotes a passage from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 479), in which Buddha and his dharma are compared to *māyā* or *svapna*, but at the same time he says "we do not assert the non-existence (nāstitva) of the Tathāgata in every way, for then we would be guilty of *apavāda* (denial), and yet being desirous of describing the Tathāgata by means of vyavahāra-satya (conventionally) and by taking recourse to super-impositions (samāropa) we say that he is śūnya or aśūnya, or śūnyāśūnya or naiva śūnyaṃ nāśūnyaṃ. But he who endeavours to realise the true Tathāgata by having recourse to statements and denials will never know him. Candrakīrti in support of this quotes the verses from the *Vajracchedikā*, to which the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* also refers, viz., "he who endeavoured to see me through my form and voice could not see me because

dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ/
dharmatā cāpy avijñeyā na sa śakyā vijānituṃ//

(A buddha is to be seen in the sense of dharmatā (nature of dharmas) for the leaders (of men) have only Dharmakāya. That dharmata is unknowable (so also is the Tathāgata)[2].

Nāgārjuna concludes his examination of the Tathāgatakaya by identifying Tathāgata with the world (jagat)[3], or nature itself, and asserting that the Tathāgata, whom people or even Bodhisattvas have

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 432. Na hy ekena janmanā śakyam tathāgatatvam anuprāptum.

2 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 448 ; cf, *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 513, 514 ; *Vajra.*, p. 43.

3 Tathāgato yatsvabhāvas tat svabhāvam idaṃ jagat/
Tathāgato niḥsvabhāvo niḥsvabhāvam idaṃ jagat//
M. Vṛ., pp. 448-9.

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in view, is only a *bimba* (image) of kuśaladharmas and is not the real Tathatā or Tathāgata[1]. A dialectician like Nāgārjuna cannot go further than this to establish the Reality. It is by denial of the existence of unreal things, including the so-called Tathāgata, that he points towards the Reality—the real Tathāgatakāya, the Dharmakāya[2].

The conception of Dharmakāya was of special interest to the Yogācārins. The Laṅkāvatāra[3] in describing it says that Dharmatā-Buddha is without any substratum (nirālamba) and lies beyond the range of functioning organs of sense, proofs or signs and hence beyond the vision of Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-buddhas or the non-Mahāyānists. It is to be realised within one's own self. The Sūtrālaṅkāra[4] calls it Svābhāvika-dharmakāya. It is one and the same kāya in all Buddhas, very subtle, unknowable and eternal. The *Triṃśikā*[5] explains the Dharmakāya as the transformed āśraya (substratum)—the ālaya-vijñāna—the transformation being effected by knowledge (jñāna) and the suppression of the two evils (dauṣṭhulyas), viz., kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyāvaraṇa. The *Āloka*[6] on the Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā also explains the Dharmakāya in a similar way. According to it, there are two kinds of Dharmakāya, one being the Bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, which are themselves pure and productive of clear knowledge (niṣprapañcajñānātmakā) and the other the transformed āśraya of the same, which is then called Svabhāvakāya. Prof. Stcherbatsky[7] supplies us with nearly the same information that we find in the *Āloka* from some source, which he does not mention. He says that "according to the early Yogācāras the Dharmakāya is divided into Svabhāva-kāya (ño-bo-ñid-sku) and Jñānakāya (ye-śes-kyi-sku), the first is the motionless (nitya) substance of the universe, the second is anitya, i.e. changing, living." Evidently what the Professor means by Jñānakāya is the Dharmakāya, consisting of the Bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, of the *Āloka*. That the Svabhāvakāya is the nityakāya, as pointed

1 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 449.

2 Prapañcayanti ye buddham prapañcātītam avyayaṃ/
Te prapañcahatāḥ sarve na paśyanti Tathāgataṃ//
See also *M. Vṛ.*, p. 534.

3 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 57, 70.

4 *Sūtrā.*, p. 45.

5 *Triṃśikā*, p. 44.

6 *J. A.*, 1913.

7 *Con. of N.*, p. 185n.

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out by him, is also supported by the Suvarṇaprabhāsa and other texts[1].

The Chinese commentators on the *Siddhi* say that Dharmakāya is the metaphysical principle of real *citta* and *rūpa* of the Tathāgata. It is the real nature of things, and it can be equated with Tathatā, Dharmadhātu or Tathāgatagarbha.[2]

The goal of Bodhisattvas is to realise the Dharmakāya. Every being has the Dharmakāya, or the Dharmakāya comprises all beings of the world, but beings being blinded by avidyā do not realise this fact. What the Bodhisattva aims at is the removal of this avidyā and the realisation of the fact that he is the same as the Dharmakāya. The *Āloka* on the Kārikā[3] enumerates gradual steps through which a Bodhisattva passes, and points out that the last step of a Bodhisattva is to realise the Dharmakāya (dharmakāyābhisambodhena bhaviṣyati), after which it becomes easy for him to assume any one of the four kāyas. In the *Laṅkāvatāra* we notice that Mahāmati is anxious to know how a Bodhisattva after completion of the ten bhūmis can attain the Tathāgatakāya or Dharmakāya and go to any one of the Buddhakṣetras or heavens. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also describes in rosy colours the prospect of attaining Dharmakāya. It says that a Bodhisattva after attaining the Mahādharmamegha in the ninth bhūmi is adorned with many jewels, and sits on a lotus in a jewelled palace surrounded by other Bodhisattvas of his status. He there comprehends the illusory nature of all things. He is anointed (abhiṣeka) by Vajrapāṇi as a son of Buddha. He then goes beyond the bhūmi of Buddhasutas by realising within himself the dharmanairātmya and confronts the Dharmakāya.[4] The *Triṃśikā* says that just as Vimuktikāya is the goal of the arhats so Dharmakāya is the goal of Bodhisattvas. It shows that as the arhats by getting rid of kleśāvaraṇa obtain a purified kāya so also a Buddha by getting rid of both kleśa- and jñeyāvaraṇas obtains the Dharmakāya,[5]

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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1 Suvarṇaprabhāsa (B. T. S.), p. 8; *Laṅkā.*, p. 78; *Sūtrā.*, p. 46.

2 I have derived this information from Prof. de la Vallée Poussin. In *Laṅkā.* (pp. 77, 78) the Tathāgatagarbha is described as nitya, dhruva, śāśvata, śiva etc. just as the non-Buddhists speak of their great soul as nitya, kartā, nirguṇa, vibhu, avyaya.

3 *J. A.*, 1913.

4 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 51, 70.

5 *Triṃśikā*, p. 44.

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MISCELLANY

The Ādipurāṇa and Brhatkathā

In the March issue of the IHQ, Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah has tried to establish the connection of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* with the *Ādipurāṇa* of Śrī Jinasena, and he doubts the possibility of the Jaina author having taken a work like Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* "as the source of his account of the Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha's life, when lay writers of the Jaina faith like Pampa and Cāmuṇḍarāya mention as the source of their accounts of the life-story of that Tīrthaṅkara, the works of the Jaina priests Kuci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni and Kavi-Parameśvara." And on this very account he presumes that the word 'Bṛhatkathā' used by Jinasena in verse 115 (of his Ādipurāṇa) refers to one of the real or mythical works of Kuci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni and Kavi-Parameśvara.

The writer is right in his presumption. For, Śrī Jinasena has clearly mentioned, and paid his obeisance to, the above Jaina authors named last in his *Ādipurāṇa* before the verse No. 115,[1] and his disciple Śrī Guṇabhadra-svāmī, who completed the remaining portion of the *Ādipurāṇa*, makes us infer that Śrī Jinasena based his book on the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara upon the "Gadya-kathā" of Śrī Kavi-Parameśvara :—

कविपरमेश्वरनिगदितगद्यकथामातृकं पुरोश्चरितम् ।
सकलछन्दोलङ्कृतिलक्ष्यं सूक्ष्मार्थगूढपदरचनम् ॥ १९ ॥
इत्यादि—उत्तरपुराणप्रशस्तिः ।

Undoubtedly, therefore, Jinasena used the words '*Bṛhatkathā*', '*Guṇāḍhya*,' etc., in order to indicate, through *Śleṣa*, that his source (Kavi Parameśvara's "Gadya-kathā") was similar to the well-known "*Bṛhat kathā*" in many respects and he was aware of its existence.

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1 The *Ādipurāṇa* is not before me and I am writing this from memory. Still I give here a verse of *Ādipurāṇa*, concerned with Kavi-Parameśvara, which I happened to quote in a previous composition :—

"स पूज्यः कविभिर्लोके कवीनां परमेश्वरः ।
वागर्थसंग्रहं कृत्स्नं पुराणं यः समग्रहीत् ॥ ९० ॥"

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I take this opportunity to give, also, a few further details about Śrī Jinasena; these appear in his *"Jayadhavalā-ṭīkā"*, a single manuscript copy of which is only extant in the *Bhāṇḍāra* at Śravaṇabelagolā. Jinasenācārya says in it that he belonged to the Pañca-stūpānvaya of the Jaina Saṅgha and names his ancestors as Vīrasena, Āryanandī and Candrasena. These ācāryas belonged, of course, to the Sena-saṅgha of the Digambara-Jaina school and therefore it seems probable that the Pañca-stūpānvaya was a branch of it (i.e., *Sena-Saṅgha*) :—

यस्तपोदीप्तकिरणैर्भव्यां भोजानि बोधयन्।
व्यद्योतिष्ट मुनी...पंचस्तूपान्वयाम्बरे ॥ २० ॥
प्रशिष्यश्चंद्रसेनस्य यः शिष्योप्यार्यनन्दिना।
कुलं गुणं च संतानं स्वगुणैरुदजीज्वलन् ॥ २१ ॥
तस्य शिष्योऽभवक्कीमान् जिनसेन सभिद्वुधाः।
आविद्धावपि यत्कर्णौ विद्धौ ज्ञानशलाकया ॥ २२ ॥[1]

It seems possible that the Sena-saṅgha came to be known by the epithet 'pañca-stūpānvaya' on account of its adherents residing somewhere in the vicinity, or at the locality, of a certain *'Pañca-stūpa'*. I do not know of any such locality in the Kannaḍa country.

Jinasena further informs us that the Goddess *Sarasvatī* was much pleased with his learning.[2] As he was naturally wise, peaceful and vinayī, he succeeded in winning the favour of a good number of *Ācāryas*. His physical structure was weak, yet he was ever busy in performing various kinds of *Tapas*. His deep and ever lasting pursuit of knowledge made the scholars to baptise him as "चलयपिष्ड". (26-29).

He wrote *"Jaya-dhavalā-ṭīkā"* in mixed Sanskrit, at the time when the 'Gurjara-Narendra' (Amoghavarṣa) was ruling, whom he styles as victorious over the Gupta and the Śaka kings.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

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1 Śrī Vīrasenācārya also mentions this Pañcastūpānvaya :—
"अज्जज्जणंदिसिस्सेणुज्जकम्मस्स चंदसेणस्स तह णत्तुवेण पंचथूहण्णाय भाणुणा मुणिणा ॥ ४ ॥"
Jaina Hitaiṣī, vol. xv, pp. 257-262.

2 यो नातिसुन्दराकारो न चातिचतुरो मुनिः।
तथाप्यनन्यशरणां यं सरस्वत्युपाचरत् ॥ २५ ॥

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A Note on the *Bharata-vākya*

Sanskrit dramas are generally found to end with a benedictory verse which is popularly known as the *bharata-vākya*. A study of the manuscripts and various editions of the works of the extensive dramatic literature in Sanskrit will, however, go to show that in many cases the concluding benedictory verses are not entitled *bharata-vākya* and have not the word *bharata-vākya* prefixed to them. Some very old manuscripts of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*—the immortal work of Kālidāsa—do not have the word. Thus we do not find it at the end of a manuscript of it dated 1494 Ś.E.—the oldest known manuscript of the Bengal recension.[1]

Very few of the editions of the various dramatic works in Sanskrit are found to mention it. Most of the dramas published in the *Kāvyamālā Series* have no reference to it (cf. Nos. 6, 7, 9, 29, 39, 46, 54, 55, 59). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. M. R. Kale do not include the word in their editions of the *Mālatīmādhava* and *Uttara-rāma-carita* respectively but note a variant reading occurring before the concluding verses, e.g. तथापीदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम् [Let this be (serve as) the *bharata-vākya*].[2] A similar statement is also found in J. Vidyāsāgara's edition of the *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa.

There are some works again which have no concluding benedictory verse at all, at least of the type of those that are going by the name of *Bharata-vākya*. Among these mention should be made of some works of Bhāsa (e.g. the *Madhyama-vyāyoga*, the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*). The *Bāla-bhārata* of Rājaśekhara, the *Rambhāmañjarī* of the Jaina poet Nayacandra Sūri, the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* of Bodhāyana and the *Satya-Hariścandra* of Rāmacandra also have no such verse. The last of these works again has one remarkable peculiarity that when asked to pray for something (as is done in other works) the hero emphatically refuses to do so.

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1 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. iv, p. 299.

2 This mode of putting the word *bharata-vākya* along with the words *tathā=pī=daṃ* without any intermediate pause seems to have been the old practice and the pause may have been used—when we do not know—to identify the *Praśasti* with the *bharata-vākya* which identification, as we shall presently show, was not quite happy.

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It seems that originally the *bharata-vākya* did not form part of the drama proper. Thus of the dramas of Bhāsa that have got a concluding benedictory verse entitled *Bharata-vākya* with that very word prefixed to it, it should be noted that there is no introductory line of the type of किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपकरोमि, तथापीदमस्तु as in other works, connecting it with the story of the drama (Cf. *Pratimā*, *Bālacarita*, *Svapnavāsavadattā*, *Dūta-vākya*). Similar is also the case with the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman.

The verse entitled *Bharata-vākya* is curiously found to occur after the concluding benedictory verse in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa. A manuscript of the newly published and highly interesting *Bhagavadajjukīyam*[1] has a benedictory verse (noted as a variant in the published edition of the work) after the word निष्क्रान्तौ (exeunt).

None of the works on dramaturgy seem to have any reference to the *bharata-vākya*. The *nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata does not mention it. Nor do the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya, the *Pratāparudrayaśabhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha and the *Nāṭakacandrikā* of Rūpagosvāmin.

They all[2], however, refer to a benedictory verse that should come at the end of a drama. This they call the *Praśasti* or benediction. It is described as an *aṅga* (part) of *nirvahaṇa-sandhi* (concluding section). Bharata defines it thus :—

"नृपदेवप्रशस्तिर्या प्रशस्तिरभिधीयते"

"The benediction of kings and gods is the Praśasti."

It is these verses that now-a-days go by the name of *Bharata-vākya*. As early as the 14th century Śiṅga-bhūpāla in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) identifies the two. He says (III. 74):—

"भरतैश्चराचराणामाशीराशंसनं प्रशस्तिः स्यात्"

"The wishing of welfare of the world by the actors is the Praśasti."

Rāghava-bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* has also done the same thing. He calls the concluding verse *Bharata-vākya* and has explained it thus :

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1 This is one of the few works in which the Vidūṣaka takes part in the Prologue.

2 *Bharata* (XIX. 98), *Daśarūpaka* (I. 54), *Pratāparudra*° (p. 113 of the Bombay Sanskrit Series ed.), *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI. 137).

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"नाटकाभिनयसमाप्तौ सामाजिकेभ्यो नटनाशीर्दीयते। प्रस्तावनानन्तरं नटवाक्याभावादत्र भरतवाक्यमित्युक्तम्। ... ... अनेन प्रशस्तिनामकमङ्गमुपपादितम्"

"At the end of the play the actor showers benediction on the audience. Their being no speech of the actor after the Prologue it is called *Bharata-vākya* (speech of the actor).....By this is performed the *aṅga* called *Praśasti*.' This clearly shows that the *bharata-vākya*, as the name implies, was spoken by a member or the members of the dramatic party but not by the hero or any one of the *dramatis personæ* as it seems, from the way in which it is put in the more recent Mss. and ordinary editions, to have become the practice.

The immediately preceding stage before this identification seems to be represented by the introductory statements of the concluding benedictory verses (*Praśasti*) already refered to, e.g. 'Let this serve as the *Bharata-vākya*'. It seems that the practice had already grown up of not having a separate *Bharata vākya*.

This identification, however, does not seem to be quite satisfactory and this may have been the result of a curious confusion, the subject-matter of the *Praśasti* and the *Bharata-vākya* being the same e.g. benediction. As a matter of fact, however, the *Bharata-vākya* seems to have been an entirely different thing. The poet may not have been, at all, concerned with the *Bharata-vākya* and it did not form part of the drama. A benedictory verse whether or not of the poet's own composition was however sometimes added at the end of the work having no connection with it. It appears, as the name clearly implies, to have been a business of *Bharatas* (members of the dramatic party) to conclude their play with a suitable benediction. This, we know, was also the cas with the *Nāndī* (initial benedictory verse) as has been clearly explaine by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

This supposition will account for the non-mention of a *Bharata-vākya* in works on dramaturgy or of the word in the manuscripts and various editions. This will also explain the absence of any benedictory verse at the end of some dramas as also the absence of introductory lines connecting the benedictory verses with the story of the drama in others.

A confirmation of this supposition is to be found in the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* where the benedictory verse comes when the play has really come to an end and also in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa where the *Bharata-vākya* follows another expression of good wish by the hero, which is nothing but the *Praśasti*. The use of each of the *aṅgas* of the different *Sandhis*, however, being not compulsory we have

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no benedictory verse (*Praśasti*) at the end of some dramas. And the presence of the *Bharata-vākya* we cannot expect in all cases.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

The Bhāsa Theory Again—A Reply to Prof. Keith

Professor Keith has in his 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' made a reference to the contribution that I have made to the elucidation of the Bhāsa problem. While every student of Sanskrit Literature must be thankful to the learned Professor for the present contribution to the history of Sanskrit Literature, one cannot help feeling that he were, as becomes his high position and noble profession, a bit more courteous towards those who in the interests of truth have to figure as his opponents.[1] The elaborate defence of the Bhāsa theory that he puts forth in his earlier Sanskrit Drama and the curt and categoric remarks occurring in his History of Sanskrit Literature, with which he dismisses those who differ from him on this question, necessitate a reply in the interests of truth and common sense.

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1 Prof. Keith writes in page xiv of his preface: 'It is claimed[a] that in the context of the passage, Rājaçekhara ascribes the authorship of the *Priyadarçikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and *Nāgānanda* to Bhāsa and, therefore, must be untrustworthy. It is deplorable that this argument should ever have been adduced; the alleged context is plainly and indubitably a recent forgery,[b] and it would be idle to attach any value to other arguments adduced by a critic who has not the capacity to avoid being deceived, and unfortunately deceiving others, by such evidence. It must be, however, admitted that the forgery is so gross and palpable that it was never intended to be taken seriously, and other Indian scholars have been prompt to repudiate it.'

The same page contains the following footnotes:

A 'K. R. Pisharoti, IHQ. i. 105. The same writer makes an error 'of six centuries in Kulaçekhara's date and numerous other serious 'blunders, in which others have followed him, including a complete 'failure to understand the issues as to Prākrit.'

B 'K. G. Sesha Aiyer, IHQ., i. 361; G. Harihar Sāstrī, *ibid.*, 370-8. 'Dr. Sukthankar's acceptance of this foolish and obvious forgery is 'regrettably uncritical, as is his following of Mr. Pisharoti as to the 'Prākrits.'

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The statements of Prof. Keith may be analysed thus:

1. The quotation beginning with 'kāraṇaṃ tu kavitvasya na sampanna-kulīnatā' and concluding with 'svapnavāsavadattasya pāvakobhūt na dāhakaḥ', is *plainly* and *indubitably* a forgery which was so *gross* and palpable', etc.

2. Other Indian scholars have been prompt to repudiate it.

3. It is deplorable that his argument should ever have been adduced and accepted by many.

4. Mr. Pisharoti commits a mistake of six centuries regarding the date of Kulaśekhara;

5. and also numerous other serious blunders, in which others have followed him,

6. including a complete failure to understand the issues as to Prākṛt.

This is a serious indictment, and I am constrained to say that the superior European critical spirit of Prof. Keith has for once failed to correctly understand the true issues raised in this controversy.

Taking the first of these points, Prof. Keith is basing himself on the statement of Mr. Iyer, supported by Mr. Śāstrī. Mr. Iyer rests his conclusions on the opinion of the editors of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and *Priyadarśikā* and the information supplied by a Pandit that Sūktimuktāvalī is a recent forgery, made by a South Indian Pandit about forty years ago; in other words, Mr. Iyer's conclusions are based on the *opinion* of scholars and *information* of Pandits. Apart from this the nature of the forgery has not been made clear; it is not clear what Mr. Iyer means, whether a recent Pandit wrote these verses and fathered it on Rājaśekhara or whether he collected the floating verses and compiled them into a work and then fathered it upon Rājaśekhara. If it is the former, a motive has to be assigned for making such a forgery and this has not been done; if it is the latter, it only supports our view. If the Bhasites want to prove their case, this point must be made clear. It is not also clear if Mr. Iyer excludes the last verse when he characterises the passage as a forgery. Even granting it is a forgery, it may only mean that a recent Pandit codified the floating verses; and such a view does not after all materially affect our position. Again, that some Indians repudiated it as a forgery need not be an argument in favour of its being a forgery; for other Indian scholars accepted my view of the same. I can grant that the passage may be a forgery, but I must request the learned professor to give more positive proof

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before I can accept the view that it is *plainly* and *indubitably* a forgery. He would surely have induced greater confidence, if indeed he could have given us the correct context from which the particular verse was extracted ; and this neither he nor his followers have yet given us. Consequently, we cannot attach to it any value other than that of an *opinion*.

Now then the position stands like this : it is uncritical to say that one verse alone in a passage is genuine, while the whole of the rest is a forgery. If the context is a forgery, the whole is a forgery, including the last verse, and it must be such so long as the Bhasites are not able to give the context from which Jalhana has quoted the verse. In adducing this passage, our intention has been only to show that the very fundamental position of the Bhasites is not above suspicion and controversy. If, indeed, we could have shown that the passage given by us was genuine, the controversy could never have been carried to this length. Hence, then, to brand the whole as a forgery and to accept one verse alone as genuine does not *plainly* and *indubitably* appeal to us.

From the foregoing it will also be clear that it has not been in the least deplorable that the argument has been adduced. For it has exposed the especial weakness of the fundamental position of the Bhasites, and no wonder that it has been accepted by many.

Coming to the next point of his criticism, as set forth in the analysis given above, Prof. Keith is of opinion that I have committed a serious mistake of six centuries in the date of Kulaśekhara. I plead guilty to the charge of having committed a mistake in dating the royal dramatist, but wish to point out that it is not so bad as six centuries. Further, Prof. Keith also commits an almost equally bad mistake, though, of course, it is no extenuation of my mistake. He might retort that he does not date Kulaśekhara, and then I may reply that the person whom he accepts as his authority, viz., Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, commits the mistake. I have already referred to an emendation of a text in Ṭīkā-sarvasva, evidently for the sake of his Bhāsa theory. On this particular subject he says that Vyaṅgya-vyākhyā quotes Daśarūpaka. But, fortunately, the manuscript of the work, which should have been published in extenso, if indeed our editor had any historical aptitude, is still available for reference. The so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka is really a quotation from Nāṭyaśāstra; only this occurs in Daśarūpaka also. From the presence of a verse, therefore, which occurs both in Nāṭyaśāstra and Daśarūpaka, one is

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not justified to theorise rashly that this author's contemporary, the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara, should have lived in the 11th and 12th centuries, a fact regarding which even Prof. Keith is not very clear. And indeed it is significant that Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī should not have given the so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka.

So far as we now know, Kerala history has a number of Kulaśekharas who are in some way or other connected with literature and art. There is the Kulaśekhara who founded the temple of Tiruvancikuḷam. There is the Kulaśekhara who patronised Prabhākara and founded the Udayatuṅgeśvarapaṇḍita-sabhā at Kumbalam. A third Kulaśekhara we find as the author of the devotional lyric Mukundamāla. A fourth again figures as the founder of the Vaiṣṇavite shrine at Tṛkkulaśekharapuram, a suburb of Cranganore, the ancient imperial capital of the Perumals. A fifth Kulaśekhara greets us as the patron of Vasudeva, the great poet of Yamaka fame, who is the author of Yudhiṣṭiravijaya. And in the dramatist we have the sixth Kulaśekhara. No attempt seems yet to have been made to introduce any scientific discipline into the *Kulaśekhara Problem* in Kerala history and *empty* statements on the subject by Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī,[1] though supported by Prof. Keith, carry no conviction to the average student. It is yet an open question how many Kulaśekharas there actually were, when they lived and what they wrote or did. Of course some desultory attempts have been made and these, because of the nature of the attempt, have not been able to give us anything substantial or historical. I do not know if Prof. Keith is aware that there is such a problem in Kerala history, and if he is not, as I am led to think, he would have been better advised not to rush to such statements and conclusions about the opinions of other people who at least are not strangers to this problem. The eminent professor will be doing a real service, if he will bring to bear his rare research acumen on the unravelling of the problem of Kulaśekharas, which is not the least among the many problems awaiting solution in the history of Kerala. Till this problem is finally solved, it is at once rash and premature to commit to statements on the authority

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1 Says Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī: 'From these facts we can infer that etc.' (Vide page 4, Introduction to Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa). But what the facts are he has not said! Such vague statements are not calculated to throw much light on this problem.

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of a questionable text of doubtful authenticity advanced by a Pandit who is at least a stranger to our local history.

Leaving alone this tangle for the time being, I shall now try to show that the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara cannot be assigned to a period later than the age of Śrī Śaṅkara. From the statement occurring in the Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa, the poets and dramatists known and popular in Kerala literary circles are Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Daṇḍin and that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra are unknown to them. The absence of reference to Bhāsa and the presence of reference to Śūdraka amply bear out the fact that Cārudatta is an adaptation of Mṛcchakaṭika and *not* that the latter is amplified from the former. Further, it is also clear that at the time of Kulaśekhara, the fame of Bhāsa has not reached Kerala. The works, now published under the unwarranted heading, 'Mahākavi Śrī Bhāsapraṇītaṃ', were then quite unknown here, even though we find that these works become very popular later on. It must also be remembered that at the time of Kulaśekhara, the local Sanskrit stage was in a very flourishing condition, and our traditions will have it that it was under the lead of this king that the stage was reformed.

The absence of reference to Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra plainly gives us the latest limit to the date of the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara. That it might take time for the fame of Bhavabhūti to travel down to this remote corner of India cannot stand a plausible argument, especially at this period, for with the advent of Śrī Śaṅkara there was a very brisk inter-comunication between Kerala and the rest of India, including even the remote Kashmir. And from the point of view of the Bhasites, if the commentator was familiar with Daśarūpaka, it is strange that his patron was not familiar with Bhavabhūti. Hence *prima facie* we conclude that because Kulaśekhara does not mention Bhavabhūti, he must have lived before Bhavabhūti.

The absence of any reference to Śaktibhadra also necessitates our assigning the royal dramatist to the same age. The one pertinent inference that we may draw from this is that Śaktibhadra was a younger contemporary of Kulaśekhara and was working at his drama at the further end of Kerala. In his Prologue he suggests that he was the first South Indian to write a Sanskrit drama, and himself a Malayali, he could not have implied like this, if Kulaśekhara's dramas were already popular in our stage. If Kulaśekhara lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, then it is rather strange that

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the King did not make a reference to him, for in Kerala literary circles Āścarya Cūḍāmaṇi has a popularity scarcely second to Dhanañjaya and Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa. The only possible explanation therefore for reconciling the two positions lies in supposing that the two works were produced almost simultaneously, the author of the one being ignorant of the work of the other. Śaktibhadra, we know, lived to be a disciple of Śri Śaṅkara and we also know that at the time of the great philosopher, the kings of Kerala were Rājarāja and Rājaśekhara. This naturally necessitates the assumption that the dramatist Kulaśekhara lived before the time of Śri Śaṅkara; and to assign him to the middle of the eighth century appears to us a legitimate conclusion.

We have already shown that the so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka is a mis-statement of fact, and this view gains considerable support from the date to which the royal dramatist has to be assigned, on the basis of the internal evidence furnished by the dramas themselves. Prof. Keith does not seem to have studied the texts of Kulaśekhara and Śaktibhadra, nor subjected them to a critical analysis. If he has, one must presume that he was greatly obsessed by the Bhāsa theory.

The next point of his criticism is that I have commited numerous other serious blunders. This is a statement the vagueness of which is equalled, if at all, only by the overweening assumptions of the distinguished professor.

The last of his criticism is that I have failed to understand the issues as to Prākṛt. I have, indeed, my own doubts as to who has failed to do so. To collect words at random from inadequate Nāgari editions prepared by an editor who is ignorant of the manuscript traditions of the land and then to declare laws for the same—this is a procedure that cannot appeal even to our Indian criticial spirit. When the Bhasites talk of the language peculiarity, they do so with reference to the printed texts cooked up for them by the Trivandrum editor, and not with reference to the original manuscripts. It is a procedure that deserves to be condemned and that especially by Prof. Keith who is prepared to assign the value *only* of a manuscript to editions done in India. I do not wish to further dwell upon this topic, but shall conclude with referring the more serious student to my paper on the subject which has appeared in the last issue of the BSOS., London, and leaving him to frame his own conclusions regarding the validity of the language peculiarity as an argument in support of the Bhāsa theory.

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I shall not further digress on the topic but shall conclude with the statement that Prof. Keith also sometimes commits mistakes. Says the distinguished professor in page 371 of his Sanskrit Drama: "The Cakyars of Malabar still act Śaktibhadra's Āścaryamañjarī...", A grosser mistake could not have been made on a statement of fact. As a matter of fact, Āścaryamañjarī is a work of Kulaśekhara and *not* of Śaktibhadra ; it is *not* a drama but a prose work ; and the Malabar Cakyārs have *never* been acting it. This very palpable mistake could well have been avoided by a mere reading of the opening pages of the Tapatīsaṃvaraṇaṃ.

I shall not better conclude than with the words of Professor Jarl Charpentier who in another context says as follows: "The counter arguments of Prof. Keith as usual are no arguments at all, as they simply consist in deying evidence without adducing other which proves something to the contrary." These words constitute the essential feature of Prof, Keith's arguments especially with regard to the Bhāsa theory.

K. R. PISHAROTI

Dr. De on the Nāṭyaśāstra *

The review of the Nāṭyaśāstra in the "Calcutta Review" is only a summary of a larger review published by the same writer in the "Indian Historical Quarterly" and contains no new topics.

The Nāṭyaśāstra

A great number of subjects has been brought to bear on the contents of the Nāṭyaśāstra and its commentary. Bharata and the commentator are gifted with extraordinary powers of intellect and learning ranging over all branches of knowledge then known. Their productions have not come down to us intact. They were altered, mutilated and misarranged, and even with all these imperfections their

* This article is an abridgment of a larger one written by the editor of the Nāṭyaśāstra in defence of his position against the attacks of Dr. De in his reviews of the work in this Journal and in the Calcutta Review.

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copies are very rare. With these defective copies the editor has to sit at his work and his difficulties may thus be well imagined.

An ideal edition requires that complete photographs of all the copies of the originals with their transliteration should supplement an edition which must be in a consolidated form as some of the best Western publications are. The variants given should be so arranged and so full that every one of the original manuscripts used can be reconstructed without difficulty. Introduction, notes, indexes, and parallel passages are the greatest desiderata. Such an edition is monumental though beyond the range of practicability. Without complete photographs of all the originals no edition is reliable. In illustrating this point some digression may be pardoned. I shall take up at random passages from the "Vakroktijīvita" edited by Dr. S. K. De himself with his *apparatus criticus*, and compare it with the reading on the plam-leaf in Malayalam script from which it was published and then it may be easily judged how far his own edition is defective and unreliable according to his own canons.

Page	Line	Dr. De's reading	Palm-leaf ms. reading
8	15	तथोच्यते	तथा चोच्यते
9	5	ननु	नन्वेवं
73	17	मां स्मरं	मां स्मरः (the meaning of the verse is spoiled by alteration)
74	4	युक्तियुक्ततां	युक्ततां
74	5	यस्य	तस्य
74	14	उत्पादयन्तः	उद्भासयन्तः

These changes are unnecessary and misleading. They have been taken as the text of the author. His edition abounds with many such small unauthorised corrections but a few only are selected at random. Yet he finds fault with alterations that he imagines we have made.

Several editions of the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra were issued by able scholars but none with the commentary till now. The present editor's father wrote a commentary on the text up to the 29th chapter for publication but was not destined to complete it. The editor when he first came across the copies of Abhinava's commentary during his stay in Travancore in 1912 decided to issue the text with the more learned commentary of Abhinava. He began to collect as many copies as possible both of the text and of the commentary but

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he could not secure many copies of the commentary. There is a copy of the commentary in the Mahārāja's Library at Trivandrum extending over the first nineteen chapters but it is full of lacunæ which sometimes swallow chapters together. The editor secured two copies, one extending over the first six chapters and the other from the ninth to the thirty-first. Both of them are much damaged but fairly correct without many omissions. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī gave a copy of the palace manuscript to Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā. This copy was also taken on loan by the editor from the late Pandit Govinda Das of Benares. The late Mr. Gopinath Rao secured in Travancore another copy of the commentary (chs.1-19) which was as bad as the Palace copy. Meanwhile the Madras Government organised a research party and the editor had the good fortune to be at its head. In British Malabar we obtained in three places copies of the commentary :—(a) covering chapters 1-19, a fairly good and complete copy, (b) chapters 20-28, (c) chapters 30-32, (d) chapter 6 alone, (e) chapters 19-20, besides a summary of the first six chapters. Later on, after the abolition of the research section, the editor at his own expense made tours in Malabar again and again and was fortunate enough to get copies containing chapters 29 to 37 and chapters 4 to 6. In the Government Manuscripts Library there is one copy containing the chapters 1 to 19 and 20-28 (incomplete) collated with the manuscript of Dr. G. Jhā up to the 19th chapter. Dr. S. K. De had to rely only on Dr. Jhā's copy and that of the Government Oriental Mss. Library. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī took a copy (9-19) from the editor for collation in order to issue the work in the Trivandrum Series but the difficulties in the fourth chapter turned his energies in other directions, namely Arthaśāstra. Abhinava's commentary is found quoted in many works, notably its sixth chapter, in Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana. That author quotes verbatim for the most part, and in a few places gives summaries of the commentary. Ananta, Jāyasenapati, the commentator on Dattila, Vema and the commentators of the Kāvyaprakāśikā have given extracts from Abhinava's works. Ananta, Nānyadeva, Śāradātanaya in a few places, and Guṇacandra-Rāmacandra have paraphrased in verse and prose some of the arguments of Abhinava. The editor had the good fortune of having been able to consult all these works. There is a close summary of Abhinava's commentary by Pūrṇasarasvatī up to the middle of the sixth chapter. A copy of the sixth chapter alone copied and collated by Deśamaṅgalavāriar, who was

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the owner of all the copies of Abhinava's works brought to the Madras Library, was also examined and utilised by the editor. It is superfluous to add that the editor made full use of quotations from Abhinavabhāratī given by the commentators on Locana, such as Nārāyaṇa, Uttuṅgadeva, Dāśarathi, and four anonymous writers.

On the other hand, Dr. De had access to the copies of Dr. Jha and to that in the G. O. Mss. Library. He proceeds to complain that the printed copy is fuller and not mutilated as the imperfect copy of Dr. Jha or the ill-arranged copy of the Government Library. The editor's humble aim was to present a complete copy of the text and commentary in a readable manner without many unintelligible passages and has worked up to this ideal as far as practicable. The great commentator mastered all the *Darśanas* besides every fine art then known and many of the works he criticises or refers to are not available to us. Thus it may be easily imagined how difficult was the task for the editor who pretends to no great scholarship. Dr. De's ideal is beyond achievement in a work like this. He himself could not satisfy his own demands when he published an extract of ten pages from this work and also eighteen pages of Dhvanyāloka and two chapters of Vakrokti.

Dr. De complains that my Introduction contains some statements as to the recensions of Bharata's work without proofs. But the editor promised a full volume of 400 pages containing Introduction, notes and the history of the science on the completion of the text and the commentary. What is now issued is only a part of the work. To give some idea to the reader, some of the conclusions of the editor were merely stated. His statement as to the existence of the two recensions is one among them. If the editor had to maintain his statements by citing authorities he would have had to quote various portions of the text with their variants; but if the whole work is available to the reader, mere page-reference will be sufficient. Dr. De however runs to the conclusion that the statement is baseless.

The points raised by Dr. De can be classified under four heads: 1. The preface. 2. The readings in the text and commentary. 3. Emendations, alterations, etc. 4. Errors in punctuation, etc. With regard to the first objection, the editor was obliged to put off all the evidences and arguments to the extensive Introduction on the completion of his work. Dr. De, therefore, should have expressed his opinion after the publication of the Introduction and the editor would have

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altered or abandoned his position if untenable. Regarding the second item as to giving the full number of variants, the best reading was always chosen to suit the commentary and omissions and clerical errors were not inserted as variants to swell the number of pages and confuse the reader. For it cannot be ignored that the copyists when copying the library Mss. from the Malayalam originals and the subsequent ones again from the Library copies committed various mistakes. If the Malayalam original is used, the development of errors in all the subsequent copies cannot take the place of variants. In the text more variants are given, and from the seventh chapter to the end of the work they are quite exhaustive. (3) With reference to the emendations and alterations in the commentary, I have already said that by a judicious use of the material, including the stray quotations, the best reading was restored and if at any place the editor was over-zealous in preferring a certain reading it was always with the perfect conviction that the original must have contained that reading. (4) The errors in printing were freely acknowledged and those of punctuation may occur here and there as the style of the work is very stiff. But the examples pointed out by Dr. De are not cases of error and unhappily betrays hastiness on his part in coming to the conclusion.

Of the various statements in Dr. De's review I shall reproduce below twenty six and try to answer them properly and at the end we shall give side by side the readings and punctuation of certain passages as quoted by him in the Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volume with the corresponding passages from our edition.

1. On page 861 of the Indian Historical Quarterly for December, 1927, Dr. De says,—

> "In the preface the editor claims that the edition has been based upon forty copies of Bharata's text as against only four independent manuscripts available to M. Grosset, two to the editors of the Kāvyamālā, two to Mr. S. G. Mukherjee and one to F. E. Hall. It is somewhat exciting news that such ample material was at his disposal."

Dr. De evidently veils distrust under surprise. Most of the copies available in the Public Libraries were not utilised by the scholars named by him and it is no fault of the editor to have consulted them. They are :

(*a*) Two copies in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.
(*b*) Two copies in the State library of Bikanir.
(*c*) Two copies in the State library of Baroda.

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(*d*) Three copies, one incomplete and two complete, in the Palace Library, Tanjore.

(*e*) One copy in the State library of Pudukota.

(*f*) Two copies in the Adyar Library.

(*g*) Seven complete copies borrowed and brought from Malabar to the Madras Government Library.

(*h*) Six incomplete copies in the same place.

(*i*) Two copies, one complete and another incomplete, in the Mysore Library.

(*j*) One copy lent by his Holiness Jiyyar of Melkote to the Poona Institute.

(*k*) Two copies in the Darbar Library, Nepal.

The editor has the remaining copies with him and used all others excluding those of Nepal and His Holiness' copy. If Dr. De is prepared to accompany the editor he will show him the places where he can gather many more copies.

2. "His edition of the text has not dispensed with the necessity of consulting at every step the earlier editions of Grosset and Kāvyamālā series."

We do not well understand the necessity. Even the most critical editions do not dispense with the necessity of collation with the other copies. Dr. De's edition of the Vakrokti and the Dhvanyāloka do require such collation. Even the editions of Abhijñānaśakuntala, Uttararāmcarita, etc. are not exceptions.

3. "The editor raises two important issues: (1) that there were two recensions of Bharata's text styled by him respectively A (Northern) and B (Southern) and (2) that the B recension is of earlier and A of later origin. His statements about the recensions and the relative priority may be right but the proof is lacking."

The proof cannot be given for the simple reason that the whole text is not before the reader. Any statement or discussion will be only a leap into the dark so far as the reader is concerned. Six instances of essential differences were pointed out. More details regarding this point can be given only when the whole text is before the public. But if the task is put off, as the editor did, to the end, the references can be easily given and then the reader will be in a position to appreciate it or use his own judgment in the matter. There are hundreds of differences between these recensions, and if Dr. De ever cared to compare them he would have discovered the fact.

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The nomenclature 'Northern and Southern' is for the sake of differentiation. But most of the manuscripts that give the readings of the A set are found only in the North with the exception of only one manuscript, while those that give B recensions are all found in the South. The Nepal copy which has not been utilised by the editor seems to belong to the B set. It was also stated that the terms Northern and Southern were not happy and they were adopted only for the sake of convenience.

Regarding the second question as to the Southern recension being older, this is the editor's opinion based on the different readings given by Abhinavagupta himself as Śaṅkuka's, e.g. in chapters 15 and 16. Those readings are found only in the B set which has been named Southern.

4. "The value Mr. Kavi attaches to these differences is perhaps too generous and these indications are hardly sufficient for a definite conclusion of such importance."

I humbly request Dr. De to give his own criterion by which different recensions may be distinguished. If chapters differing wholesale, and ślokas by tens and hundreds found in one set and missing in the other, cannot serve the purpose of such a criterion, then of course the editor is wrong.

5. "It is not clear what Mr. Kavi means by the phrase which is quoted just now, and it is to be regretted that he has not given us any clue as to the agreements and differences of each of his many manuscripts with regard to his so-called recensions."

The Almora maunscript generally follows the A set in the order of the chapters and the subject-matter in each chapter; but the ślokas in it, taken individually, bear a close resemblance to those in the B set. To give the agreements and differences between any two manuscripts is really the most critical task. But I draw the attention of Dr. De to our remarks on this point :—

"Bharata's work has undergone such variations at every part of the work that every śloka requires half a printed page to show its variants, whether found or not in every one of the MSS. But we could name only one MS. for a certain reading and not all those which contain it or not. Limitations of time, purse and space prevented us from doing more. We also omitted all the glaring errors of scribes. However, we have not left out any important variant unnoticed and at the

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end of the work an appendix containing all the missing variants and those that may be found in the MSS. that may be obtained meanwhile will be included."

Dr. De himself admits that

"this would have enlarged the bulk of the work which is already extensive and involved infinite labour and care in collation, but without such data the editor's uncorroborated statements alone cannot be conclusive".

6. He states that "the earlier commentators Śaṅkuka, Lollaṭa, Udbhaṭa and other commentators have commented upon the B version. If this is the ground for presuming that the B version is older, all that can be said is that it is not proved. For the commentaries of these earlier commentators are no longer available, and Abhinavagupta's scanty and occasional quotations from them do not justify such conclusions".

How can Dr. De say that they are not available and that only the occasional quotations of Abhinava refer to them ?

7. "It is indeed difficult to imagine that a Northern writer like Udbhaṭa (and probably Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka were also Northerners) should have taken the Southern version as genuine".

The set A was called *Northern* because all the copies of that recension except one came to the editor from the North, and the B set Southern because all the copies of that recension came from the South. Why does not Dr. De suppose that all the present Southern copies came from the North which were once used by Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and others ? The editor never said anywhere that the Nāṭyaśāstra or its recensions were produced in the North or South.

8. "Bhoja's following of B recension in his Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa (if it is actually so) is a fact which is not of equal importance, for Bhoja was more or less a compiler and was not always very critical in his compilation".

This is a fling at the great Bhoja who used in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa the readings as we find in the B set. But even for a compiler it is not enough to execute such a task without attainments in Śāstric lore. The words within parentheses "if it was actually so" imply mistrust in the statement of the editor. Dr. De carefully follows the argument of perception (pratyakṣa) of the Buddhists and it is a dangerous dart for it will rebound on his own statements. Bhoja quotes the lines

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referred to in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa ch. xii in the enumeration of the second of the *catuṣṣaṣṭi-catuṣṭayam.*

9. "Some of the differences between the recensions mentioned would rather speak of the priority of A to B".

Dr. De too has not proved it. It is only a theory requiring examination when the whole work is before us.

10. "But what we point out is that on these important points more light should have been thrown, and that questionable statements unsupportable by wealth of facts do not carry any conviction to the critical mind."

The wealth of facts can be had at the end. It is premature to criticise a play when the first act is not over.

11. "It is a matter of regret to him that Abhinavagupta had not the good sense of seeing eye to eye with the learned editor and did not adopt the B version which Mr. Kavi would consider as earlier and genuine".

Dr. De has misunderstood the import of the sentence. Out of the forty copies thirty copies split up the ninth chapter into two and thenceforward differ in the numbering of the chapters while ten of the A set treat it as one continuous chapter. Again the 26th in A is included in the 36th in B. A portion of the 18th in B is included in the 19th of A. Now any person would naturally follow the majority of the copies, and the French editor actually did so. The present editor feels that he is under obligation to be guided by Abhinavagupta whose commentary he is publishing. Of course the other commentator has actually split up the ninth and omitted the 26th of the A set to be taken at the end according to the B set. If that commentary is to be published then the B recension has to be used as text and not that of the A set. Let the editor's statement be taken in proper light.

12. "Mr. Kavi makes the confession that great difficulty was felt in fixing the recensions used by the commentator throughout and it is not clear from Kavi's statement on this point that Abhinavagupta actually follows what he calls a recension".

Here the editor unhappily used the word recension in a much restricted sense and Dr. De is badly confused. The editor, having fixed the recensions of Abhinava in the general division of chapters and of the subject-matter, had difficulty in choosing the various readings in each śloka. Even in the A set, ślokas individually differ in readings as *tathāpi*, *tathaiva*, etc. He means that how Abhinavagupta actually read each particular śloka could not easily be

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ascertained owing to differences even among the MSS. of the A set. For *pratīkas* given by the commentator are regularly found in a certain order in one chapter in one MS. of the A set while in the next chapter they are missing in that MS., but they could be traced in other MSS. of the A set. The fixing of the text will be easy if *pratīkas* are given throughout. If the commentator does not give *pratīkas* for about 40 or 50 ślokas together we are in a fix as to decide what copy we have to follow. This is what the editor sought to say.

13. "We are also informed that we have both the fragments of Bharata and Sadāśiva-Bharata. One would be tempted to ask where and what they are. One wishes that Mr. Kavi would vouchsafe to us further and more precise information and discuss in detail the inter-relation between them. But these questions do not seem to worry him".

The fragments mentioned are with the editor who has devoted a chapter to the discussion on the interrelation of those works with that of Bharata in his extensive Preface. It is very much to be deplored that Dr. De thinks that these questions do not worry the editor.

14. "There is no evidence to show that care has been taken in the collation of the Mss. for the genuine variant readings..... and the readings of the printed editions have been carefully weighed....The *apparatus criticus* is of very slight character... It is most regrettable that the editor pleads limitations of time, purse and space. The editor seems to proceed with perfect complacency and self-assurance and hardly gives an indication of difficulties," etc.

It has been said that the editor did not exhaust the variants, but he has chosen all the best variants which could produce any sense or new interpretation. His time is limited, likewise his purse. How he can present the dreadful chapters 28 to 34 with the poor material in hand is his problem. The editor's friends know well that he has spent all his property and time towards securing old and rare works. But regarding the *apparatus criticus* being disappointing, as the readings to him are unintelligible, it has to be said that a closer study is required of the work for the understanding of the essence of the proud creation of Abhinavagupta, whose commentary cannot present a smooth appearance to the dull or jaundiced vision. In reality the lack of variants is not so deplorable as Dr. De complains. We have been more profuse in places where there is no commentary and have also promised

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to supplement the whole work with a large list of variants (vide Preface, page 10).

15 "But what is more serious is that there are considerable paddings and unacknowledged alterations and emendations of the text especially in the commentary portion."

If Dr. De had given an instance, his statement would have been clear. The editor did not make any alterations or emendations on his own responsibility except when they were found in the texts which he preferred to others. What the paddings are is not clear.

16. "A few examples taken from this part of the commentary (ch. vi—*rasa* portion) will, we hope, justify the somewhat severe criticism made above."

If Dr. De had taken a few examples from the fourth chapter and could make out anything from his copy of the commentary construing the proper text and then compared it with our edition his conclusions would have been quite contrary.

17. "It should be pointed out at the outset that Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (pp. 57 to 66) has appropriated this portion of the commentary. Mr. Kavi while purporting to give us Abhinava's text has exploited Hemacandra considerably without acknowledging these additions."

The editor has acknowledged his indebtedness to Hemacandra in the Preface. Hemacandra mostly quotes Abhinavagupta verbatim as can be readily seen from a copy of the commentary used for the edition. The copies in the Government Library, Madras, and the copy of Dr. Jha are full of lacunæ and the copyists have not pointed out the marks of omission. Wherever the additions were utilised from Hemacandra to make the commentary more explicit, they were enclosed within parentheses. Abhinava frequently quotes fragments of verses. The editor as far as he could trace them out completed them. Otherwise the reader would have been put to great inconvenience. This completion of all incomplete verses or quotations is found to be absolutely necessary in chapters 4, 6, 28, 31, 32 and 34. Works like those of Dattila, Mataṅga, Kohala are not found in print and the reader will surely be benefited if quotations are completed. Dr. De finds fault with us for such completion of quotations. On p. 280 we could not complete two fragments of Vedic quotations under peculiar printing difficulties; and even Dr. De could not trace them out and says that the passage is unintelligible. The completion of the fragmentary verses is more useful to the reader than filling pages with

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scribal errors under the name of variants and acknowledgments. Dr. De points out some instances which he calls emendations of the editor. They are not such at all. He compares his copy of Dr. Jha's copy collated with the Madras Govt. copy both of which are replete with errors of scribes and omissions which are not pointed out as such. For the Madras copy was prepared by the copyists at the commencement of the inflow of the Malabar MSS. when the copyists were not properly trained to decipher the old Malayalam script. The copies were not subsequently collated except with Dr. Jha's copy. The editor utilised 8 copies for the sixth chapter and wherever the readings were unintelligible he determined the proper reading by a close examiniation of the original palm-leaf MS. Dr. De quoted a fragment on *rasa* in the commemoration volume of Sir Asutosh Mukherji which though small contains a large number of blunders including misleading punctuations and mistakes of spelling. If he had access to at least one of the original copies in old Malayalam script he could have avoided the glaring errors frequently accompanied with query marks. We shall give some examples at the end of this article quoting our readings and those in the original. We should consider our task accomplished if the terse and abstruse commentary is made clear and intelligible at least in difficult portions. In fact, we have not made any emendations except on sufficient grounds.

18. In one of his examples of emendations Dr. De says, Mr. Kavi inserted *niviśamānam* in line 26 on page 280 where both J. and M. read *nidhīyamānam*.

One of the editor's copies reads *niviśamānam* and the Madras copy reads *vidhīyamānam*. We do not remember whether Dr. Jha's copy reads *nidhīyamānam*. Which reading is then the best ? The context strictly requires *niviśamānam* which is a significant word amongst the old *śāstric* writers. Even the editors of Hemacandra's work read *niveśamānam*. *Nidhīyamānam* is a vulgar word. Is it possible that a great work written by a genius like Abhinava should use *nidhīyamāna* for *Niviśamāna* ? Perhaps Dr. De thinks that the form is ungrammatical. We would ask him to refer to Pāṇini's sūtra '*ner-viśaḥ*.'

19. "In the same way the reading *hṛdi* adopted without acknowledgment from Hemacandra on page 279 line 1 is clearly wrong. It should be *druti*. Every student of Sanskrit Alaṅkāra knows that *druti*, *vistāra* and *vikāśa* are associated with three *guṇas*—*mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*—and this nomenclature is here adopted by Bhaṭṭanāyaka".

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We admit that *druti* is a better reading but it is not found in any of our copies. The Madras copy reads *rati*, Hemacandra reads *hṛdi* and our copies read *rati*, *rīti* and *hṛdi*. Of these *hṛdi* appeared best.

It is true that *druti*, *vistāra* and *vikāśa* are explicitly associated by Mammaṭa with three *guṇas*. Ānandavardhana combined the function of *druti* with *mādhurya*. Abhinava developed it in his Locana. Bhaṭṭanāyaka used the functions of *druti* etc. with three guṇas of *rajas* etc, according to the Sāṅkhya system of *bhoga*. But let Dr. De cite passages from Bhaṭṭanāyaka wherein he combines the three mental states of *druti* etc. with the kāvyaguṇas *mādhurya* etc. M. R. Ry. Chintamani, M.A. in his article on Bhaṭṭanāyaka in the "Oriental Research" while quoting the same passage also reads *rati* and not *druti*, and Dr. De himself, in his article on *rasa* in the commemoration volume, quotes the passage as *rati*, *vikāsa*, and *vistāra*.

20. "The wrong division of words or sentences—an error which occurs with a surprising frequency—sometimes indicates that the sense of the passage in question had not been properly considered but that it may have been merely copied as found in the manuscript. The punctuation is not always consistent and sometimes positively misleading."

This statement is followed by five or six instances.

They are however no mistakes at all. In his review he has throughout based his remarks on a close comparison with his fragment on *rasa* published in the Commemoration Volume.

21. Dr. De recommends the use of *Vikramorvaśī* for *Vikramorvaśīya*. But though the former form is found in several works on rhetoric all our Mss. read *Vikramarvaśīya* and there is an omission just before that word and any alteration was thought unwarranted.

22. "Some of the lapses from accuracy give it the appearance of being amateurish."

The editor does acknowledge his work to be amateurish and he challenges the learned Doctor to prepare the press-copy for any one of the following chapters, viz. 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34 and submit it to a conference of competent judges. Then it can be seen whose performance is more amateurish.

23. "The Editor has proposed to add a commentary of his own in the chapters 7 and 8 where Abhinavagupta's cannot be procured. We are not sure how far this would be a desirable procedure."

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The commentary was not intended for those who can do without it. The eighth chapter being highly technical, a few friends of the editor induced him to write some notes on the difficult passages and hence he promised to write a running commentary at the end if no other copy of Abhinava's is forthcoming. The editor relies upon the material that he has gathered for the exposition of the subject besides his father's commentary on that section.

24. "We have not yet been able to make out Kampapulakollasanādibhir vikāraiḥ (p. 281 line 6). Is it Kampapulakollāsādir vikāraiḥ ?"

Dr. De corrects *ullukasana* into *ullāsana*. It is regrettable that he subjects himself to the same error that he imagines to find in others. He may refer to p. 331 l. 5 of the text and the commentary of Abhinava underneath *gātrasyordhvam sāhlādam dhūnanam ullukasanam*. Even M. Grosset gives the same correct reading. Śāradātanaya uses it in his Bhāvaprakāśa besides a host of writers.

Dr. De remarks that our punctuation is inconsistent and misleading and that we have passed our copyist's copy without any examination of the subject-matter. There is no basis for this remark. He imagines in others what he himself does. His instances are taken from passages of *rasa-sūtra* which he misunderstood and therefore thinks that our punctuation is wrong. We cite below about forty instances of wrong punctuation found in the extract in the Commemoration Volume along with the corresponding passages from our edition.

Abhinava in discussing the import of the famous *rasa-sūtra* of Bharata first reiterates the interpretations of Lollaṭa and others, exposes the fallacies in them and finally establishes his own theory. Dr. De gives this portion as an extract in the Commemoration Volume. It covers over fourteen pages of our printed text and the page reference is to our edition.

Our reading	Dr. De's reading
अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः.....	अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः.....।
इति। चिरन्तनानां चायमेव पक्षः।	इति चिरन्तनानां चायमेव पक्षः।

Abhinava's *anuvāda* begins with अत्र and ends with इति in which Lollaṭa's opinion is given. Dr. De begins the next independent sentence with 'iti' ignoring the force of the words "evam vyācakhyuḥ" in the former and *ca* and *ayam* in the latter sentence.

अर्थक्रियापि मिथ्याज्ञानदृष्टा	अर्थक्रियापि मिथ्याज्ञानादृष्टा

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"Arthakriyā too can be the result of *bhrānti*" but Dr. De thinks quite the contrary. The copyist might have written 'jñānād dṛṣṭā' and he must have wrongly printed it. If he still clings to 'adṛṣṭā,' let him rightly understand Dharmakīrti's quotation given by us immediately within parentheses and here Bhaṭṭanāyaka refutes Dharmakīrti.

तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं न विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायाः। तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायः।

p. 275, l. 27

The removal of *na* does not make any sense here.

किंच नटः शिक्षावशात् स्वविभावस्मरणात् चित्तवृत्ति- किं च नटः शिक्षावशात् स्वविभावस्मरणाच्चित्तवृत्ति
साधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात् केवलमनुभवान् प्रदर्शयन् साधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात्केवलमनुभावान्
काव्यमुपचितकाकुप्रभृत्युपस्कारेण पठंश्चेष्ट इति प्रदर्शयन् काव्यसमुचितकाकुप्रभृत्युपसस्कारेण
p. 277, l. 25 पठंश्चेष्ट इति

The *naṭa* imagines his experiences and does not exibit *anubhāvas* and the word *kāvyam* is the object of *paṭhan.*

प्रत्युत ध्रुवागानतालवैचित्र्या p. 278, l. 1 प्रत्यत ध्रुवगानताल

It ought to be dhruvā. It is either a slip like jabā for japā (p. 276, l. 27) or an error.

तदनुकारेऽपि च क नामान्तरम् तदनुकारे विपचत्वनामान्तरम् (?)

In Malayalam *ka* and *pa* resemble *ta* and *va* respectively. This made Dr. De depend on his copyist and produce the beautiful expression 'vipacatvanāmāntaram' but he has the good sense to put a question mark beside it.

तेन स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः इत्यादौ तेन स्थायिभावानुरसत्वमित्यादौ

p. 278, l. 14

Here this is a quotation from Bharata. Dr. De has not understood the line and introduced *anurasatva.* Does he make any sense out of it ?

तत्किंयदवोच्यताम् p. 278, l. 17 तत्किं यदवोच्यताम्

For *kiyat* he puts *kim yat.* What is the construction of *yat* ?

रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्रा- रसोऽनुभवास्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्रा-
द्बलाद्धृदि विस्तारविकासलक्षणेन p. 279, l. 1-2 बलादतिविकासविस्तारलक्षणेन

Here *druti* would be better as the Doctor now suggests. *Ati* is clearly wrong.

तत्र पूर्वपक्षोऽयं भट्टलोल्लटपक्षानभ्युपगमादेव नाभ्युपगत तत्र पूर्वपक्षोऽयं भट्टलोल्लटपक्षानभ्युपगम्यादेव नाभ्युपगत
इति तद्दूषणमनुत्थानोपहतमेव p. 279, l. 3 इति तद्दूषणमनुत्थानोपगतमेव

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Here *upagata* and *upagamya* are wrong. What is the necessity for these emendations of the manuscript ?

रसनेति चेत् p. 279, l. 5 — रसेनेति चेत्

It ought to be *rasanā* which is antecedent to *sā*. According to Dr. De's reading what does *sā* refer to ?

सत्वादिगुणानां चाङ्गाङ्गिवैचित्र्यमनन्तं कल्पामिति p. 279 l. 7 — गुणानां.....मनन्तमकल्पामिति

Here *akalpyam iti*, as Dr. De gives, does not convey the sense. The original reads *kalpyam*. Who makes alterations ?

निष्पादनाभिव्यक्तिह्यानभ्युपगमे च नित्यो वा असद्वा रस इति न तृतीया गतिः स्यात् — निष्पादनाभिव्यक्तिह्यानभ्युपगमे च नित्यो वा असद्वा रस इति न तृतीया गतिः स्यात्

Here *na* spoils the intention of the author.

अनुभवेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम् p. 279, l. 20 — अनुभावेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम्

Anubhāva for *anubhava* is meaningless ; in the same sense it is used in the verse quoted above this line by the commentator. Why should the original be altered ?

धीः पश्यति श्रान्तिमवेदयन्ती p. 280, l, 2 — धीः पश्यति श्रान्तिमवेदयन्ति

Avedayantī is a complement of *dhīḥ*. Dr. De simply relied on his copyist.

काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति — काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति

Here according to Dr. De's reading what is the object of bhāvayanti ? The passage is a quotation from Bharata himself from ch. 7. Abhinava's *siddhānta* begins from this sentence. It seems that Dr. De did not read the text of Nāṭyaśāstra or its commentary before or after this portion.

यथा हि राविमासत, तामग्रौ प्रादादित्यादावर्थितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्तिमात्रादतितीव्रप्ररोचितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमधिकैव p. 280, ll. 14, 15 — रावी रासते तामग्रौ प्रादाद इत्यादौ अर्थितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्तिमात्रादिविवृत्(?) प्ररोचितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमाधिकैव

Mātrā and *trivṛt* of the Madras manuscripts gave him some trouble. Were they understood in the Āyurvedic sense of a *purging pill* ? Either the knowledge in the Malayalam script or a little acquaintance with Mīmāṃsā would have suggested to him the right word ; yet he says that we have emended the original. Even the Madras copy gives our reading.

अधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारिणैवास्ते प्रददातीत्यादि .....यथादर्शनं प्रतिभावनाविधिनियोगादिभाषाभिः p. 280, l. 16, 17 — अधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारिणैवःस्ते । प्रददातीत्यादि रूपाः । ..... । यथादर्शनं प्रतिभावनादि विहृयोगादिभाषाभिः

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The fullstop after *āste* is the crowning glory of Dr. De's suggestions. This para being the first argument of Abhinava's theory he says that ideas are transformed from the particular to the general at first of a limited nature; then the limited generalisation extends into unlimited. The commentator draws an analogy from the *adhikārilakṣaṇa* in Mīmāṃsā. They performed rātri-satra. "He (*Prajāpati*) offered *that* (his own vapā) as an oblation in fire"—such sentences of a mere arthavāda nature of past action entailing on the present adhikārin as a vidhi or niyoga according to Kumārila or Prabhākara respectively. *Āsata* or *prādāt* taken from the Vedic passages becomes injunction to *adhikārin* transforming into the general sense *āste* or *pradadāti* respectively. Dr. De reads *pradadāni*. This may be a printing mistake but why has he put a full-stop after *āste*? "A and B can do a piece of work in 3 and 4 days respectively". In this sentence if a fullstop is put immediately after three what would an Englishman say of the author?

In the same passage *viddhyudyogādi* is Dr. De's reading for *vidhiniyogādi*. He has implicit faith in his copyist. What is the reading of the expression *dhyudyogādi*? Is *vid* an *upasarga*? Or does he think that *vidhi* and *udyoga* mean thereby 'duty' and 'appointment'? The original palm-leaf reads *vidhiniyoga*. Even a novice in Mīmāṃsā knows that the reference is to the two schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara.

मानसी साक्षात्कारात्मिकापहस्तिततत्तद्वाक्योपात्त-कालादिविभागा तावत्प्रतीतिः। p. 280, l. 21

मानसीसाक्षात्कारात्मिका अपहस्तिततत्तद्वाक्योपात्त-कालादिविभागात्प्रतीतिः।

Here *mānasī* goes with *pratītiḥ*. Dr. De reads it with the next word forming a compound. Then how is its strīliṅga form justifiable?

भयमेव·····अनालिङ्गितं···विलक्षणं ··· ग्राह्यं··· निविशमानं...विपरिवर्तमानं...भयानको रसः p. 280, ll. 23-27

भयमेव···अनालिङ्गितम् ।···विलक्षणग्राह्यं···निधीयमानं···रसः।

Here Dr. De recommends a full-stop after *anāliṅgitam*. He has not understood what Abhinavagupta says; *bhayam* goes with *bhayānako rasaḥ*; *anāliṅgitam*, *vilakṣaṇam* etc. are epithets to bhaya in its transference from the particular idea to the generalised *rasa* of *bhayānaka*. If one puts a full-stop after *anāliṅgitam* what is the construction of the words *niviśamāna*, *viparivatamāna* etc.? They cannot be taken as adverbs; for the predicate here is only a copula understood.

न विशेषत उल्लिखितः p. 280, l. 28

निर्विशेषत उल्लिखितः

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The reading *nirviśeṣataḥ* is copyist's blunder, which Dr. De coolly adopts. Madras copy reads correctly. He copies the mistake from Hemacandra's edition.

एवं परोऽपि p. 280, l. 28 एवमपरोऽपि ।

Dr. De recommends that it ought to be *evamaparopi*, meaning thereby that the case is the same with the other *rasas* too. At first sight it seems to be plausible but when we go deeper into the manuscript reading we find it quite correct. But there should be no full-stop after it. He copied it from the edition of Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana.

तत एव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यमपि तु विततं व्याप्तिग्रह इव धूमाग्नी...वा । p. 280, l. 28

तत एव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यमपि तु विततम् । व्याप्तिग्रह इव धूमाग्नी.....वा ।

Here Dr. De recommends a full-stop after *vitatam*. But it is not tenable even in English to put a full-stop between an adverbial clause and the principal sentence whose predicate it modifies.

मुतरां रसपरिपोषाय p. 281, l. 5 मुतरां रसपरितोषाय

Toṣāya is a copyist's slip which Dr. De would not mend.

कम्पपुलकोल्लुकसनादिर्विकारः p. 281, l. 6 कम्पपुलकोल्लासनादि (suggested by Dr. De)

Ullukasana is a new word to Dr. De and he changes it into *ullāsana*, and suggests it to us also. We advise him to peruse page 331, line 17 for its meaning as given by Abhinava himself.

अतएव निस्सामान्योत्कर्षोपदेशव्युत्पत्तिप्रयोजने नाटकादौ प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयत्वादि नियमेन निरूप्यते । p. 282, ll. 7-9

अत एव निस्सामान्योत्कर्षेऽपि देशव्युत्पत्तिप्रयोजने नाटकादौ प्रख्यावस्तुविषयत्वादिनियमेन निरूप्यते ।

Here Dr. De has not understood anything and he simply copies as *utkarṣo'pi*. Abhinava here talks of two things *upadeśa* and *vyutpatti*. What does Dr. De mean by *deśavyutpatti*? Is it a unique creation of countries? What does he intend to say by *prakhyāvastu*? Is it in any way connected with *upākhyā* of the Buddhist śūnyavāda? If *nīyamena* is taken into the compound, what is the subject of *nirupyate*?

प्रतिभासंविद्विश्रान्ति p. 282, l. 21 प्रतिभासंधिविश्रान्ति

Here Dr. De reads *sandhiviśrānti* for *saṃvid-viśrānti*. What does he mean by it? He copied the Trivandrum copy and did not consult the Madras Ms.

उक्तं हि "इश्यं श्रव्यं चे"ति p. 283, l. 3

This line is taken by Dr. De along with the fifth vighna. But it is *parihāra* for the fourth vighna.

तत्सूत्रकृतमुपकारमंदर्भं बिभ्रतः p. 284, l. 24 तत्सूत्रकृतमुपकारमंदर्भं बिभ्रतम्

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Dr. De reads *vibhutamaḥ* for *bibhrataḥ*. This is a peculiar superlative carrying no sense here. The palm-leaf manuscript reads *bibhrataḥ* which goes with the object *sandarbham*.

एवमप्रधानत्वनिरासः ॥ ६ ॥ स्थायिनिरूपणायां 'स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः' इत्यनया···मुनिना कृतः। तत्र.....p. 285, ll. 4-6

एवमप्रधानतानिरासः स्थायिनिरूपणायाः स्थायिभावात्तसत्त्वमिष्याम इत्यनया ··· कृतः। तत्र.....

Here Dr. De thinks that the division or paragraph and consequently a full-stop after *nirāsaḥ* are wrong. Abhinava after dealing with the sixth vighna at length proceeds to the next one namely Saṃśayayoga, i.e. doubt arising as to what *rasa* was meant on account of certain *bhāvas* being common to several rasas. The doubt must be dispelled by giving greater play to bhāvas peculiar to one rasa. To amplify this he begins the argument with a quotation from *Bharata*. Then he proceeds with the course of *saṃśaya* or doubt beginning with the sentence with *tatra*. If Dr. De's punctuation is followed the quotation will have no bearing on the text and *tatra* in the following sentence will have no antecedent. Therefore his criticism is evidently wrong.

बाष्पादेरानन्दाक्षिरोगादि p. 285, l. 9

बाष्पादेरानन्दार्तिरोगादि

The original manuscript reads *akṣiroga*. Dr. De adopts the copyist's error or alters it on his own account. Even the Madras Ms. reads *akṣiroga*. Abhinava gives two examples to each condition.

लोकोत्तरोऽर्थो रस इति तात्पर्यं सूत्रस्य। अयमत्र संक्षेपः—p. 286, l. 27

लौकिकोऽर्थो रस इति तात्पर्यम्। सूत्रस्यायमत्र संक्षेपः

Dr. De takes *sūtrasya* with the next paragraph. *Sūtra* itself is the *saṃkṣepa* of an argument. If it can have another *saṃkṣepa* what shall we call it? It must go with *tātparya* as we have printed it. "*Ayamatra saṅkṣepa*" is a very common expression of the commentators.

महाकवेः कालिदासस्य

महाकवेः कलशकस्य

Our manuscript reads *Kālidāsasya* clearly. *Kalaśaka* is an error of the Madras copyist which he subsequently corrected in collation. Though the verse is not found in any one of his known works it possesses Kālidāsa's unique thought and expression.

तद्वन्नटप्रक्रिया वागादिलक्षितातिस्फुट·····p. 288, ll. 19-20

नाट्योपलक्ष्यादितातिस्फुट·····

What is the meaning of his reading? He has quietly given us the copyist's error.

अर्थो व्युत्पत्तिं वितरति। युते दृश्यान्यनियमादौ ..... नियतदेशकालाद्यस्पृष्टभूत

अर्थो व्युत्पत्तिविमरतियुते (?)नियतं देशकालाद्यस्पष्टनूतन

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Here Dr. De reads *vyutpattivimaratiyute* while the original manuscript reads *vyutpattiṃ vitarati*. Dr. De has not understood anything here nor can anybody else from his reading. He reads *aspaṣṭanūtana* for *aspṛṣṭabhūta* of *kāla* and *deśa* missing the main argument.

He abruptly closes his extract in the middle of a clause. We have pointed out only a few such specimens. There are many other errors of this kind in the extract of ten pages.

We may defend Dr. De by saying that the article in the Commemoration Volume had been prepared somewhat hastily but why should he not correct these blunders at least after seeing our publication? His accusation of wrong punctuation and emendations of the commentary without acknowledgment, thus misleading the reader, is applicable only to himself. In his edition of Dhvanyāloka, page 28, line 9 he reads *madhumadana* with the Sanskrit rendering of the prākṛt verse and puts a full-stop after it. This is a mistake. In the *saindhava* language the words *mahu, mahu* mean *mama, mama* (me, me) and also *madhumadana* (Viṣṇu). So there is a pun on these words.[1] Abhinava has explained it.

For his own emendations (see Dhvanyāloka, page 22, lines 3, 4). Here all the manuscripts we have examined including the two he has used read *"śabdāḥ sāṅketikaṃ prāhuḥ vyavahārāya saṃsmṛtāḥ"*; he changes it into *"śabdaṃ sāṅketitaṃ prāhuḥ vyavahārāya...sasmṛtaḥ."* Why should he make this alteration? What is the necessity? By the change he makes the first half an *anuvāda* or *pūrvapakṣa* while the śloka of Dharmakīrti (which is quoted by Abhinava anonymously) nullified the *saṅketa* in *svalakṣaṇa*. Helarāja quotes it as we find in the Locana manuscripts. In fact Abhinava quotes the same verse a second time. If Dr. De had read Locana properly in the previous sections he would have been wiser not to have altered it and thus misunderstood Dharmakīrti, Ānandavardhana and Abhinava.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI

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1 The original is मउमह इति भणन्तउ वल्लइ कालो जनस्स।
तेत्र ण दीसो जणद्दण गोअरो होन्ति मणस्स॥

Dr. De's reading मम मम इति भणतो व्रजति कालो जनस्य।
तथापि न दैवो जनार्दनो गोचरो भवति मनसो मधुमथनः॥

Here the commentator says मधुमथन इति योऽनवरतं भणति etc., but Dr. De puts a full-stop after इति taking मधुमथन along with the gāthā.

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REVIEWS

JAIN INSCRIPTIONS, Jaisalmer (with Introduction, Notes, Index of places, etc.). Collected and compiled by Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.[1] Pt. III (with plates), 1929.

Mr. Nahar has done a distinct service to Jinalogy and epigraphy by the publication of the three volumes of Jain Inscriptions, the third volume (under review) bringing the number of inscriptions to 2592 *i.e.* about three thousand. The records published in these volumes, though not generally very old, are important for scholars from more standpoints than one e.g. linguistic, social, religious etc. Here we have records in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Hindi. They cover a variety of subjects not generally met with in epigraphic records. The present volume contains the records of Jaisalmer—a very important stronghold of the Jains.

The Introduction and the sporadic notes are in Hindi. No work in any other Indian vernacular seems to have such a big collection of epigraphic records, The work appears to have been primarily intended for the Jains—a large section of which is Hindi-speaking. It may be that it was for this reason that Mr. Nahar has not thought it necessary to add explanatory notes to passages or terms which, though quite clear to Jains in general and students of Jinalogy, are a bit difficult to others. Even a mere reference to particular sections of his excellent volume *Epitome of Jainism* would have in cases been of great help.

In editing the records he has not always been scientifically faithful to the plates (e.g. No 2531-l. 4, समद्दि—pl. समद्दि ; सौख्य—pl. सोख्य etc.). Nor has he cared to correct in the footnotes the apparent mistakes of the engravers (e.g. No. 2531 l. 4. नः तेषाम् should have been corrected into नस्तेषाम् ; भवेत् मन्दिरे into भवेन्मन्दिरे). Some misprints have also unfortunately crept into the work (e.g. No. 2112, l. 20—मुक्रतिन in place of मुक्रतिनः).

It is true that these defects are more or less due to the almost total

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1 Part II was reviewed in these pages (vol. iv, pp. 792-3) by Dr. P. C. Bagchi who pointed out a few mistakes in the deciphering of the records. Mr. Nahar in a letter to me attributes some of the mistakes to the proof-reader. Some, specially, *Dve kālye* for which Dr. Bagchi suggests *Dvaikalpa*, are, in his opinion, supported by the plates.—Ed.

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loss of the eye-sight of Mr. Nahar and he deserves the hearty congratulations of scholars in having been able to bring out such an important work in spite of such a handicap.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL, vol. III. Edited with translation and notes by Nanigopal Majumdar, M.A. Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal, 1929, pp. i-x+1-200, Crown Octavo, with one Map showing findspots of Inscriptions and 15 Plates.

It is long since the Varendra Research Society took upon itself the important task of collecting and editing the epigraphic records of Bengal. It was proposed that these should be published in three volumes of which the first should contain records of the Pāla period, the second those belonging to the time of the Senas and the third those of the period of the Pāṭhān Sultans. Accordingly the first volume under the title *Gauḍa-lekhamālā* (*Prathama stavaka*) with translation and notes in Bengali was published under the editorship of Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitreya as early as 1319 B. S. (=1912-13 A. C.). The programme seems to have been a bit revised since and the third volume 'containing the inscriptions of the Candras, the Varmans, and of Īśvara-ghoṣa and Dāmodara' has come out. We learn from the Preface of this volume that the Society contemplates the publication of two companion volumes, one dealing with the Gupta and the other with the Pāla inscriptions which will apparently form the first two volumes of the Series. And obviously with a view to secure popularity for the Series the notes etc. will be in English instead of Bengali as before. We heartily welcome this volume which is welcome on more points than one. With the publication of this volume most of the post-Gupta records of Bengal are made accessible in two separate volumes and scholars will be saved the labour of hunting the pages of periodicals not easily available at all times and places.

The learned editor has carefully checked the readings of his predecessors with the help of the original stones or copper plates where available or with their impressions and has been able to find out and correct a good many errors. He has also taken great care in examining the interpretations suggested by previous scholars. His elaborate notes in this connection reflect great credit on him as

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he has collected information from various sources. The glossary of terms denoting official titles which forms the 10th appendix of the work is a very important thing.[1] It seeks to bring together all known facts with regard to particular titles. A list of all peculiar words would have been all the more welcome to students of Philology. It must of course be admitted that the editor gives informative notes on such words in the body of the work e.g. *jhāṭa* (p. 83), *nala* (p. 84)[2] etc.

He is quite up to date in giving information seldom omitting even the most recently published things (which have been referred to in the 11th appendix giving additional notes and comments). But a paper in the *Proceedings of the 14th Bengali Literary Conference, Naihāṭī,* 1330 B. S. (pp. 1-8). Similar is also the case with another small paper (I. H. Q.—vol III, p. 186 ff.) which *inter alia* sought to prove the genuineness of the introductory verses of the *Adbhutasāgara* (cf. p. 174, f. n. 1).

Several wrong statements have somehow or other found their way into the book. His statement (at p. 60) that Vijayapura is mentioned in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* as the capital of Vijayasena is not accurate as Dhoyī really represents it as the capital of his patron Lakṣmaṇasena, though, as the name seems to indicate, it might have been first founded by Vijayasena. His statement (p. 132) with regard to the Madanapāḍā copper-plate that it was acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal lacks confirmatory evidence. At least no mention of it is found in the list of copper plates in the Society by Mr. R. D. Banerji (J.A.S.B., vol. VI, 1910, pp. 485ff.). And the present reviewer is making all attempts to acquire it from its present owner in a distant village.

There are some passages and expressions with regard to the interpretations of which the learned editor seems to have been a bit far-fetched or inaccurate.

The equation of *ārambha* with *ālambha* (v. 6. p. 12) and explaining it as sacrificial slaughter seems to be going too far when *krūrārambhe dayāluḥ* could very well be translated as 'kind towards people of cruel acts' or in some such way.

The rendering of *Bāla-Valabhī-bhujaṅga* as 'the serpent of

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1 The want of such a glossary though promised in the preface was a keenly felt desideratum in the *Gauḍa-lekhamālā*.

2 It may be pointed out here that this word is still used in some parts of Bengal. At Koṭālipāḍā (Faridpur) it denotes a plot of land (5 cubits × 5 cubits).

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Bāla-Valabhī' is not at all happy when the word *bhujaṅga* has got the well known meaning 'paramour' in which sense its use is not at all unusual (e.g. अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीभुजङ्ग used in respect of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*).

The rendering of v. 1 of the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena (p. 50) fails to convey any good sense. The translation of *ratālaya-dīpa-bhāsaḥ* as the 'light of *pudendum muleibre*' is not only far-fetched but inaccurate as it leaves out the word *dīpa* (lamp). The plain meaning 'pleasure-chamber' is sufficient and there is no need of reading an inner meaning into it. As a matter of fact, *ratigṛha* (which is the same as *ratālaya*) is used in that sense in the *Kāmasūtra* and the facts of lamps being used there is clearly referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Kumāra-Sambhava* Canto I (*ataila-pūrāḥ surata-pradīpāḥ*). A closely similar idea is to be met with in the *Vidyāsundara* attributed to Vararuci (the only known manuscript of which is in the possession of Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra, M.A. of the Calcutta University). I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it here in its entirety. It describes the amours of Vidyā and Sundara. It runs :—

सन्दृष्टे जघनस्थले स्तनयुगे लज्जाभरव्याकुला
बाला सत्कबरीसुपुष्पविलसन्माल्याहते दीपके।
चञ्चद्रत्नसुतेजसा समभवद्दीपोपमेन स्फुटं
दृश्यं कान्तगुणाधिकं स्मितमुखी सल्लज्जलज्जाभवत् ॥ v. 274.

This verse with some variants is also found to occur in the *vidyā-sundara* (v. 39), as published by Jivananda Vidyāsāgara in his *Kāvya-saṃgraha* (vol. III).

One minor point with regard to orthography may be noted here. It is true that in some of the modern vernaculars of India two distinct letters ड and ढ and their corresponding aspirates ढ and ढ़ are used with a slight difference in the pronunciation of the sounds with or without dots below them. But this difference is not met with in old manuscripts and epigraphic records. Hence the use of dots below ड and ढ (cf. p. 21, ll. 40, 43 ; p. 74 ll. 38, 39, 46, 48 ; p. 111 ll. 19, 31, 32 ; etc.) in the transcription of records of the 11th and 12th centuries is unwarranted by the paleography of the records and smacks of a bit of anachronism.

Lastly, the warmest thanks of all students of the history of Bengal are due to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., of the Dighapatiya Raj—both a scholar and a patron of learning—for his munificence in providing the entire cost of this costly and very important publication.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. x, pts. i, ii

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*A Peep into the Later Buddhism.* The author describes some features of the Vajrayāna Buddhism and shows that Tāntrikism, specially the Tāntrik deities like Tārā and Chinna mastā, have been evolved from a later form of Buddhism called Vajrayāna.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India.*

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose.*

AMBUJ NATH BANERJI.—*Studies in Economics of Ancient India.* This deals with the nature and scope of *Vārttā*, its relation with other sciences as also the students and teachers of this science in ancient India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Sanskrit Literature of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal.* This is an account of the literary output of the followers of Caitanya in different branches of Sanskrit literature—philosophy, rituals, kāvya, poetics and grammar.

N. H. PURANDARE.—*A few Thoughts on Semantics.*

P. V. KANE.—*Bhavadāsa and Śabarasvāmin.* This note shows that Bhavadāsa wrote a commentary on Purvamīmāṃsā and preceded Śabarasvāmin.

Asia Major, vol. v, fasc. 2

Die Überlieferung des Ältern buddhistischen Schrifttums (Handing down of the ancient Buddhist scriptures) by F. Weller.

The writer enters into a detailed discussion about the probable time of compilation of the Piṭakas and summarises his conclusions as follows :

The present text of the Dīgha Nikāya presupposes the existence of manuscripts, which had their origin in India. It is a written translation from texts which were composed in Māgadhī.

The information that the whole of the Pāli canon with commentaries was handed down orally up to the period of Vaṭṭagāmani

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and was for the first time written down in Ceylon during the rule of Vaṭṭagāmani cannot be accepted as historical truth.

The account of the Councils, so far as Suttapiṭaka is concerned, is younger than the Dīgha Nikāya, which was handed down by the members of one sect, and therefore it is historically of no value.

It has not yet been disproved that the Dīgha Nikāya originated in pre-Christian era.

As the indigenous traditions about the canon are of a comparatively later date, researches in this field must be carried on by a comparative study of the various traditions. Researches with the Pāli canon alone will not be fruitful.

Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, vol. iii, no. 1

N. SUBBA RAU.—*Deva Rāja Wadeyar of Mysore.*

S. CHANDRASEKARA SASTRY.—*Hayasaḷa Administration.*

Indian Antiquary, July, 1929

BIREN BONNERJEA.—*Materials for the Study of Garo Ethnology.*

A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.—*Vedānta and Christian Parallels.* The writer compares the Vedāntic conception of the relation between Word and God with the Johannian utterance in the Bible, viz. "Word was God", and to him "the taking of man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin etc. is reminiscent of the (Hindu) doctrine of Avatāras."

RICHARD C. TEMPLE.—*Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the Kathāsaritsāgara.*

Ibid., September, 1929

R. R. HALDER.—*An Inscription of the Time of Allaṭa of Mewar.* This inscription re-edited here records the construction in 953 A.C. of a temple of Viṣṇu in his Varāha form and mentions the names of some prominent persons in the state of the ruling Guhila king Allaṭa.

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.—*A Note on Śvetāmbar and Digambar Sects.* The author of this note advocates the earlier origin of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains, and believes that 'the assignment of a distinctly inferior status to woman by denying her the possibility of

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full spiritual emancipation' and such other narrow dogmas propagated by some of the followers of Mahāvīra led to schisms and ultimately to the establishment of a new order called Digambaras.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*Note on Ṭeṇṭā-karāla.* It has been shown here that the word *ṭeṇṭā-karāla* occurs in various works, in some of them in a slightly different form, in the sense of a gambling place and that even 'good' women have been referred to in the *Karpūra-mañjarī* (circa 900 A. C.) as playing at dice.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol, III, pt. 1

M. HIRIANNA.—*The Saṣṭitantra and Vārṣagaṇya.* The author derives evidential support from the *Jayamaṅgalā* for the view that *Saṣṭi-tantra* is the name of treatises by Pañcaśikha and not by Vārṣa-gaṇya, consisting of 60 sections and postulating 60 principles, and opines that Kapila himself might have been the original author of this work which was later on amplified by Pañcaśikha.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*More about the Age and Life of Śrimad Appayya Dīkṣita.* Historical, epigraphical, traditional and literary evidences have been adduced corroborating 1520-1593 as date for Appayya Dikṣita.

D. T. TATACHARYA.—*Definition of Poetry or Kāvya.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1929

GUISEPPE TUCCI.—*Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga (Asaṅga, Vasu-bandhu, Tarkaśāstras).* An account of the pre-Diṅnāga logical works preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations and also known from quotations and allusions found in works like Uddyota-kara's *Nyāyavārtika* and Vācaspati's *Nyāyavārtika-tātparyaṭikā* has been given here.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Text of the Buddhacarita, cantos ix-xiv,* 32. Notes have been written on the text of this portion of the Buddha-carita in the light of the Tibetan translation of the work edited by Dr. Weller.

JWALA PRASAD.—*The Philosophical Significance of Ṛgveda,* x, 129, 5 *and Verses of Allied Nature.* This Ṛgvedic verse called by many scholars "a puzzle" and left unexplained has been interpreted here as describing the universe as a sacrifice, or as warp and woof, or again, as both.

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Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. III, pts. 2, 3 & 4

G. RAMADAS.—*Santa Bomvāli copper-plate Grant of Nandavarmā—a Review.*

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO.—*The Evolution of the Brahminical Hierarchy in Ancient India.*

M. RAMARAO.—*Some Interesting Facts about the Kakatiyas.*

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI.—*Analysis of the Agni Purāṇa.*

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO.—*History of Rajahmundry.*

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.—*Simhīpura Copper-plate Grant of Kadamba King of Dharmakhedi.*

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Two unassigned Coins of Balpur.*

R. SUBBARAO.—*Madras Museum Plates of Indravarmadeva.*

LAKSHINARAYAN HARISCHANDRA JAGADEB.—*Attagaḍa Mahāliṅgeśvara Rock Inscription.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Literary Gleanings.* Various Sanskrit works on Music produced during the last thousand years in different parts of India have been named and in some cases described in the present instalment of this continued article.

LAKSHINARAYAN HARISCHANDRA JAGADEB.—*Stone Pillar Inscription of Ratnamaṇi Devī at Mukhaliṅgam.*

R. SUBBAR RAO.—*Correspondence between the East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the Eighteenth Century.*

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Kommu-chikkala Plates of Anavatu Reddi dated Ś. S. 1344.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, July, 1929

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.—*Archaeology in Mysore.*

M. H. RAMA SHARMA.—*Studies in Vijayanagara History.* 'Crynamata' mentioned by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz has been identified in this portion of the "Studies" with Kumāra Rāmana Kuinmaṭa of to-day.

K. KRISHNAMACHARYA.—*Some Poses from Amaruka.* A few extracts from the *Century* of Amaruka depicting 'the finer phases of Śṛṅgāra' have been discussed here.

Rūpam, April-July, 1929

ORDHENDU COOMAR GANGOLY.—*A Group of Buddhist Sculptures from Siam.*

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ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Buddhist Reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvatī.*

AJIT GHOSE.—*Miniatures of a Newly-Discovered Buddhist Palm-leaf Manuscript from Bengal.*

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.—*Notes on the Above Mss.*

A. N. GANGOLY.—*A Moghul Miniature from the Lahore Museum.*

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Gods of Northern Buddhism.*

Zeitschrift fuer Buddhismus, viii, 1928 (four parts).

Saṃyutta-Nikāya—translated into German by Prof. W. Geiger. This volume contains translations of BK. I (31-81); BK II, and BK. III (1-14).

Der Weg zur Reinheit (Visuddhimagga)—translated into German by Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka. (This volume contains translation of pp. 1-57 of the Pali text).

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha—translated into German by Ernst L. Hoffmann. This volume contains translation of Chs. II-IV. The translator has added an Appendix in which the various divisions and sub-divisions of philosophical and psychological terms have been arranged in a tabular form.

Das Leibesproblem in der buddhistischen Pālilyrik by W. Wüst. The object of the writer is to show that a detailed study of problems like the Kāya-problem can throw light on the chronology of Buddhist texts.

Gespräche buddhistischer Mönche (Dialogues of Buddhist Monks) by Badsar B. Baradijn (translated from Russian into German by Gertrud Bufe and W. A. Unkrig). The Tibetan original (16 leaves) of this work, called *"zlos-gar-gyi bstan-bcos-yaṅ-dag-laṁ-du-bkri-bai-rol-rtsed-ces-bya-ba* (*i.e.* a Dramatic work, a poetical play, which leads the way to truth), was written between 1762 and 1828. It contains the conversation of four Buddhist monks, an Indian called Prajñā, a Tibetan Śes-rab, a Mongolian Bilik and a Chinese Ts'e-dpe each speaking on the religious themes in his own mother tongue. The translator has added notes on important Tibetan words.

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THE

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Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire

II

2. *Khāravela*

In a cave on the Khandagiri hill near Bhuvanesvar in Orissa known as the Hāthigumphā (elephant cave) the short history of the first thirteen years of the reign of a king of Kaliṅga named Khāravela is found engraved in Brāhmī characters. In this document, unique in its kind, it is said that in the eighth year of his reign Khāravela invaded Magadha and laid seige to Rājagṛha, and that four years later, he captured the royal palace (at Pāṭaliputra) and made the Rājā of the Magadhas fall at his feet. Most of the writers[1] on the Śuṅga period are of opinion that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, and it was Puṣyamitra who or whose deputy was besieged at Rājagṛha and who himself fell at the feet of Khāravela four years later. Two such disasters appear to me irreconcilable with Puṣyamitra's known achievements and reputation. Therefore the arguments of scholars like Messrs. Rapson, Jayaswal and Sten Konow who recognise Khāravela as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra demand careful scrutiny. Professor Rapson writes :—

"Even the fundamental question whether the inscription is dated or not is still in dispute. Some scholars contend

1 A notable exception is H. Roy Chaudhuri, *Pol. His.*, pp. 199-201.

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that a passage in the sixteenth line can only be interpreted to mean that the inscription was engraved in the 165th year of the Maurya kings, or of the Maurya king, while others deny the existence of any such date. The discussion of problems of this kind does not fall within the scope of the present work, but it may be pointed out here that the acceptance of the supposed date would seem to involve no chronological impossibilities, and that, in any case, the inscription probably belongs to about the middle of the second century B.C. With this hypothetical chronology other indications of date seem to agree."[1]

As we have seen above, the acceptance of the supposed date in the inscription, that is to say, recognition of Khāravela as contemporary of Puṣyamitra, does involve chronological impossibilities. But as preconceived notions take long to die out, it is still necessary to discuss whether there is a date in the Maurya era in the Hāthigumphā inscription. The passage in question in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription is thus read and translated by different authorities :—

Bhagavanlal Indraji—*panaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja-Muriyakāle vocine ca coyaṭha agasatikutariyaṃ cupādayati*

"And (the victorious and illustrious king Khāravela) does (this) in the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of the Maurya kings after one hundred and sixty-four years had passed away."

Fleet[2]—*vochine ca coyaṭṭhaṃ aṃga-sattik-aṃtariyaṃ c=upādayati*

"And he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas."

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[3]—*ghaṃṭālaktocatare ca veḍūri-*

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 534-35.

2 *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 827.

3 *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV, 1918, pp. 393-395 ; corrections, Ibid., vol. XIII, pp. 235-236.

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yagabhe thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati pānatariya śata-sahasehi Muriyakalaṃ vochiṃnaṃ (neṃ ?) ca coyaṭhi (or-thī) aṃga-satikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati

"On the lower roofed terrace (i.e., in the verandah) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl and with bells attached at the cost of 75 hundred-thousand (paṇas). The four-fold (for the fourth) Aṅga-Saptika of 64 sections lost in the time of the Maurya (king) he restores."

Dr. F. W. Thomas[1]—*panaṃtariya (ṃ ?) sa.....raja (?) muriyakāle vochine (naṃ ?) ca.....agasa (si ?) tikaṃtariyaṃ upādayati*

"And a.....of five antaras (cells, *antara gṛha* ?) which had been left unfinished (destroyed ?) during the time of the Maurya kings, he erects with.....and a full hundred (eighty, asiti ?) cells."

Dr. Sten Konow[2]—*cature ca veḍuriyagabhe tha (ṃ) bhe patith (ā)-payati panatariyasacasahite*

"And he causes four pillars to be erected, studded with beryl, and accompanied (inscribed) with the noble truths taught (by the Jina)."

rājamuriyakālavochiṃnaṃ ca coyaṭhiaga satikaṃta-riyṃ upādayati

"He restores the sixty-four section Aṅga, that had become obsolete at the time of the Maurya king, included in a saptika."

Dr. Sten Konow here sees a reference to the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition that in the reign of Candragupta Maurya the Saṅgha assembled at Pāṭaliputra to collect the fragments of the sacred lore. The assembled monks succeeded in bringing together eleven Aṅgas, but the twelfth, the Dṛṣṭi-vāda, could not be recovered. As according to tradition Dṛṣṭivāda is said to have been partly known to later authors, Dr. Konow holds that the text restored by Khāravela is

1 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1922, p. 84.

2 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 19.

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the Parikamma, the first part of Dṛṣṭivāda, which is a sattika or saptika, i.e., a treatise comprising seven chapters. "*Coyaṭhiaga* would represent a Sanskrit *catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅga*, an Aṅga consisting of sixty-four sections. We are told in later texts that the Parikamma comprised eighty-three such subdivisions. If I am right in thinking that the Hāthigumphā inscription contains a reference to that text, we must infer that only sixty-four were included in the recension restored by Khāravela."[1]

From the plaster cast of the Hāthigumphā inscription in the Indian Museum, I read line 16 thus:—.....*paṭālake catare veḍūriya gabhe thaṃbhe paṭithāpayati panatariya*..... [*Mu*]*riyakāle vochine ca coyathi-agasatikaṃtariyaṃ upādayati*

The cast shows that four or five letters before [*Mu*]*riyakāle* are totally defaced. Therefore Bhagavanlal Indraji's *saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja* and Mr. Jayaswal's *satasahasehi* are more or less conjectural. *Rāja-Muriya* is also a strange form. In line 1 of the Hāthigumphā inscription we have *Cheta* or *Cheti-rāja* instead of *rāja-cheta*; in line 6, *Nanda-rāja* instead of *rāja-Nanda*; and in line 8 *Yavana-rā*[*ja*] instead of *rāja-Yavana*. Therefore Dr. Sten Konow's restoration of *rāja* is unjustifiable. *Panatariya* I should take in the sense of "having five intervals or entrances," and as referring to a hall with six pillars. Leaving *paṭālake* out of consideration like Dr. Sten Konow, I shall translate the first sentence thus :—

"On the courtyard he caused to be erected (six) pillars inlaid with beryl (i.e., a pillared hall or corridor) leaving five entrances.....

Fleet's recognition of *vochine* in the next sentence as a Jaina technical term meaning "loss of text," accepted by Sten Konow and Jayaswal, appears to me reasonable. Another Jaina technical term that occurs in this sentence is

1 *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 21.

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satikaṃtariyaṃ, 'seven inter-Jina periods.' The following extract from the *Vyavaccheda adhikāra* of the Bhagavatī Sūtra (XX, 8) of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon seems to throw some light on the passage:—

e e su naṃ bhaṃte ! tevīsāe Jinaṃtaresu kassa kahiṃ Kāliyasuyaśsa vocchede pannatte ? Goyama !

e e su naṃ tevīsāe Jinaṃtaresu purimapacchimaesu aṭṭhasu Jinaṃtaresu ettha naṃ Kāliyasuyassa avocchede pannatte, majjhimaesu sattasu Jinaṃtaresu ettha naṃ Kāliyasuyassa vocchede pannate savvatthavi naṃ vocchinne Diṭṭhivāe.

"O Reverend one, in these (successive) twenty-three intervening periods between the (twenty-four) Jinas when was the (eleventh Aṅga called) Kālikaśruta lost ? O Gautama, in these twenty-three inter-Jina periods, in the first eight and in the last eight inter-Jina periods, the Kālikaśruta was in existence. But in the medial seven inter-Jina periods the Kālikaśruta was lost. Dṛṣṭivāda was lost in all the inter-Jina periods."

Sten Konow takes *satika*, Prākṛt *sattika*, Sanskrit *saptika*, in the sense of a treatise comprising seven chapters. It appears to me more reasonable to take *satikaṃtariyaṃ* as meaning, 'belonging to *sattasu Jinaṃtaresu*, the (medial) 'seven inter-Jina periods' and thus translate the second sentence of line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription:—

"He restores the sixty-four section aṅga of the seven inter-Jina periods (i.e., first lost in the medial seven inter-Jina periods) that was (again) lost in the Maurya period."

This "sixty-four section Aṅga of the seven inter-Jina periods" should be identified with the Kālikaśruta that disappeared in the seven medial inter-Jina periods. According to the scholiast of the Bhagavatī Kālikaśruta is the eleventh Aṅga of the Jaina canon (*Kāliyasuyassa ekādasāṅgirūpasya*). This eleventh Aṅga is better known as the Vipākaśruta. The existing Vipākaśruta of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon contains legends on the reward of the good and evil deeds

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and consists of two parts (*śrutakaṇḍhas*) of ten chapters (*ajjhayanas*) each.[1] Sakalakīrti, a Digambara author, states in his Tatvārthasāradīpaka that the eleventh Aṅga, Vipākaśruta, deals with the good and evil actions of men and has 18,400,000 words.[2] The texts of the Digambara canon are now lost. The *Aṅga* consisting of 64 chapters that, according to the Hāthigumphā inscription, was lost in the medial seven inter-Jina periods, was probably the extensive Digambara recension of the eleventh Aṅga, or rather, the original eleventh Aṅga which was the common source of both the Svetāmbara and the Digambara recensions, for the definite separation of the two sections of the Jaina community did not take place till the end of the first century A.D.[3]

Line 16 of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, so far as it can be made out, means that in the thirteenth year (?) of his reign, Khāravela caused the erection of a pillared hall or corridor with five entrances (i.e., six pillars) in the courtyard, and the restoration (compilation) of the eleventh Aṅga of the Jaina canon that became obsolete in the Maurya period.

Dr. Sten Konow and Mr. Jayaswal do not recognise a date in the Maurya era in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription, but they arrive at very nearly the same date from the supposed occurrence of the name of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, in line 8 and of Puṣyamitra (Bṛhaspatimitra) in line 12. The passage in question in line 8 is thus read :—

Bhagavanlal—

Rājagahanapaṃ pīḍāpayati etinaṃ ca kaṃmapaḍāna-panādena savata senavāhane vipamucitu Madhuraṃ apayāto navame ca.....

1 Weber, "Sacred Literature of the Jains," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 26.

2 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84*, p. 107.

3 Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26, p. 179.

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Jayaswal—

Rājagaham upapīdāpayati (;) *etinā ca kaṃmapadāna-saṃnādena saṃbita-sena-vāhano vipamuṃcitum Madhuraṃ apayāto yavanarāja Dimita* (or-*ti*).

"On account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour the Greek king Demetrius drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathura".[1]

Dr. Sten Konow considers Jayaswal's reading of the last two words "absolutely certain" and thus reads and translates the passage :—

Rājagahaṃ upapīḍāpayati etinā ca Kaṃmupadana-panādena sabadhe senavāhane vipamucitu Madhuraṃ apa-yāto yavanarājā [*Di*]*ma*[*ta*].

"Laid siege to Rājagṛiha, and through the uproar occasioned by the action the Yavana king Demetrius went off to Mathura in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble."[2]

Dr. Sten Konow accepts Mr. Jayaswal's identification of *Dimata* with Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus, and thus proceeds to reconstruct the first phase of the Indo-Bactrian history :—

"Demetrius was, according to Strabo, the son of the Bactrian king Euthydemus, and Bactria was the starting point for the conquests through which he became, as he is called by Justin, the king of the Indians. During the absence on his Indian expedition, the rival prince Eucratides made himself master of Bactria and later on defeated Demetrius. If we compare the account of these events with the statement contained in Khāravela's inscription, we shall find a general agreement among them. Demetrius had pushed eastwards beyond Mathura, probably with a view of waging war against Magadha. Rumours now reached him about what was going on in Bactria, where Eucratides had ousted his governors, and

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 227-229.

2 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 27.

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at the same time he learnt about Khāravela's operations against Rājagṛha. There was danger in front of him, and his base in Bactria was unsafe. He accordingly retraced his steps towards Mathura in order to open operations against Eucratides and relieve his generals (*sabādhe senavāhane vipamu[ṃ]citu[ṃ]*)."[1]

Mr. Jayaswal has described his difficulties before he could make out Dimita or Dimiti. In a cast of the Hāthigumphā Inscription taken by Mr. Caddy in the year 1894 and deposited in the Indian Museum I can trace *Yavana-rā* with some difficulty but see no chisel mark after *rā*. The name of an Indo-Greek king must have followed *Yavana-rā [ja]* and it might as well have been Dimita as any other name. But even if we admit for argument's sake that Dimiti or Demetrius was engraved here, what evidence is there to show that this Demetrius can be no other than the son and successor of Euthydemus of Bactria? This evidence is apparently to be found in line 12 which is thus read by Mr. Jayaswal :—

Magadhānaṃ ca vipulaṃ bhayaṃ janeto hathī Sugaṃgiyaṃ pāyayati Māgadham ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ(Cunningham, *vahasatisita* ; Bhagavanlal, *vahupatisātisā*) *pāde vaṃdāpayati.*

Dr. Sten Konow writes, "At all events, *Sugaṃgā* or *Sugaṃgī* is certainly the ancient Maurya palace in Pāṭaliputra, which is called *Sugāṅga* in the Mudrārākṣasa. The operations mentioned in l. 12 were accordingly directed against Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Magadha empire. Bahasatimita, i.e., Sanskrit Bṛhaspatimitra, was therefore the king of Magadha in Khāravela's days, and I agree with Mr. Jayaswal that he must be the same person who is known under the name of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, though I am not able to add much to the learned author's argument in favour of this view."[2]

1 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 28. 2 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 29.

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The reading Bahasatimita is doubtful, for *h* has an *u* stroke below, and the next letter is indistinct. But even if the reading is provisionally accepted, it is difficult to endorse the identification of Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) with Puṣyamitra. Mr. Jayaswal[1] first identifies Bahasatimitra, Rājā of the Magadhas, who fell at the feet of Khāravela, with Rājā Gopāliputra Bahasatimitra mentioned in the Pabhosa Inscription[2] No. 1 and with Bahasatimitra of the copper coins found at Kosam near Pabhosa and also at Ramnagar (Ahicchatra-Adhichatra) in Rohilkhand.[3] This Pabhosa Inscription records the excavation of a cave by Āṣāḍhasena, maternal uncle of *rājan* Bahasatimitra, in the 10th year of Udāka (restored by Mr. Jayaswal as Odraka). As the inscription is dated in the reign of Udāka (Odraka), it is rightly assumed that he held imperial position. But it is not quite correct to say that no territory is specified for Rājan Bahasatimitra. As already pointed out by Professor Rapson,[4] the way in which Bahasatimitra's name is mentioned in the beginning of the inscription clearly indicates that Pabhosa was included in his dominion and that he was the reigning Rājā at the time of the inscription. So Rājā Bahasatimitra of the Pabhosa Inscription No. 1 cannot be identified with a predecessor of Udāka (Odraka) on the imperial throne. Mr. Jayaswal also identifies Agnimitra of the copper coins so far found at Ramnagar and certain other sites in Rohilkhand with the Śuṅga king Agnimitra, son and successor of Puṣyamitra, but no notice is taken of the weighty arguments adduced by numismatists against this

1 K. P. Jayaswal, "A further note on the Hathigumpha Inscription," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, 1917, pp. 473-479.

2 A. Führer, "Pabhosa inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 242.

3 Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 243 and note 18.

4 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 525.

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identification.[1] No coin of Agnimitra or Bahasatimitra has yet been found either in Magadha (South Bihar) or Eastern Mālava (Vidiśā). So it is premature to conclude that the coins of Agnimitra found in Rohilkhand only and the coins of Bahasatimitra found at Kosam were issued by kings bearing same names who ruled from Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā. But even if this is conceded, the next difficulty is the want of definite proof that Bahasatimitra was the immediate predecessor of Agnimitra. Mr. Jayaswal finds this proof in epigraphic tests. He writes:—

"The *i* stroke in the legend of Agnimitra is wavy and curved, which is a sure sign of lateness, while in that of Bahasati it agrees with the older style owing to which Cunningham missed it and read the legend as *Bahasatamitra*. My friend, Mr. Bhandarkar, has detected another index. He kindly writes to me that the *ta* is also later in Agnimitra's coins."[2]

Any difference in the form of characters used in the coin legends of father and son should rather be considered as tests of contemporary varieties than as positive evidence of priority and posteriority. According to the Purāṇic chronology relied on by Mr. Jayaswal, Agnimitra survived the death of Puṣyamitra and reigned for 8 years only. So practically they were contemporaries. The hook-shaped sign of medial *i* found in the legends of the Pāñcāla coins of Agnimitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra and Phalgunimitra is a decorative feature and cannot be recognised as a test of age. The form of medial *i* used in the coin of Bahasatimitra is the usual one found in the inscription of the Kuśānas and the Guptas. The *ha* and *sa* in the legend of the coins of Baha-

1 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 80; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassbury, 1897, p. 13; V. A. Smith, *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 184.

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, 1917, p. 477.

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satimitra have perfectly equalised vertical lines and the *sa* is of the same type as the *sa* in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa. On palæographic grounds, therefore, Bahasatimitra of the Kosam coins should be assigned to the end of the first century B. C. and not to the first half of the second century B. C.

Another argument used by Mr. Jayaswal in support of his identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra is that both Bṛhaspati and Puṣya are, according to the Sanskrit usage, identical,[1] i.e. synonymous. Puṣya is the name of the sixth lunar asterism and Bṛhaspati is the planet Jupiter. Even if we admit that Bṛhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindus with Puṣya, that does not justify the identification of Bṛhaspàtimitra with Puṣyamitra any more than the denotation of the same god by the terms Skanda and Kumāra justifies the identification of Skandagupta with Kumāragupta.

As we have already seen (p. 590), according to Dr. Sten Konow the identification of the Yavana-rāja of the Hāthigumphā Inscription with Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, rests on general agreement between the account of the Greek writers that during the absence of Demetrius from Bactria Eucratides revolted and made himself master of Bactria and later on defeated him (Demetrius), and the statement in the Hāthigumphā Inscription that the uproar caused by Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha made an unnamed Yavana-rāja, or a Yavana-rāja Demetrius of unknown parentage, abandon his invasion of Magadha to help the garrison of Mathura. The Greek account of the revolt of Eucratides as summed up by Dr. Sten Konow shows that the hostile activities of the rebel were confined to Bactria, and he could not have created any trouble for the generals of Demetrius at Mathura. So it is impossible to link the rising of Eucratides in Bactria with the Hāthigumphā version of the retreat of the Yavana-rāja to relieve the garrison of Mathura.

1 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 478 and note.

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Mr. Jayaswal's translation of line 8 of the Hāthigumphā Inscriptiou differs from that of Dr. Sten Konow. Mr. Jayaswal does not find in this passage any hint of Demetrius's retreat to Mathura to relieve the garrison, but renders it thus : "The Greek king Demet(rios) drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathura." Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha might dissuade Demetrius from invading Magadha to avoid a struggle with the powerful king of Kaliṅga ; but why should it lead him to abandon even Mathura it is very difficult to make out. The Hāthigumphā account of the retreat of the Yavana-rāja, and the Greek account of the revolt of Eucratides and Demetrius' return from India to face him, refer to two different events separated as we shall see below, by a long interval of time.

The chronological impossibllities involved in these identifications become still more apparent when attempt is made to reconstruct the history of Magadha from 175 to 170 B.C. on their basis. If Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, retired from India to face Eucratides when Khāravela laid siege to Rājagṛha, the latter event must have happened in the year 175 (Jayaswal) or 174 (Sten Konow) B. C. As this year corresponds to the eighth year of Khāravela's reign, he must have ascended the throne of Kaliṅga in 183 or 182 B. C. With Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha, the revolt of Eucratides in Bactria and the retreat of Demetrius, Messrs. Sten Konow and Jayaswal link two other events, the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by Demetrius and a horse sacrifice (the first horse sacrifice according to Mr. Jayaswal) of Puṣyamitra. As we have already seen, Patañjali's statements in the Mahābhāṣya clearly indicate that the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana (i.e. the Yavana king) and the horse-sacrifice of Puṣyamitra were not, strictly speaking, contemporaneous events. Though it may not be difficult to reconcile the retreat of Demetrius with Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifice intended to celebrate his triumph over his enemies, it is impossible, for reasons stated

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before (p. 587), to conceive a siege of Rājagṛha by a king of Orissa when the ceremony was in progress at Pāṭaliputra. It is far more reasonable, therefore, to asume that Khāravela led his expedition to Magadha, not in the reign of Puṣyamitra when the Suṅga power was at its height, but in the declining stage of that power, say, some time in the first half of the first century B.C., and the crushing blows that he dealt to the tottering empire hastened its fall. Palæographic considerations based on the comparison of the form of the letters of the other Brāhmī inscriptions, of which the dates are approximately known, point to a similar conclusion.

3. *Palæography*

In fixing the date of Khāravela some writers still stick to Bühler's classification of the early Śuṅga alphabet, and others declare palæographic tests as valueless for the purpose. To the first category belongs Prof. Rapson who writes :—

"Epigraphic considerations show that the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela and the Nānāghāt Insctiption of Nāganikā, the queen of Sātakarṇi, belong to the same period as the Nasik Inscription of Kṛṣṇa. Even, therefore, if it must be undated, there is still reason to believe that Khāravela may have been contemporary with Sātakarṇi in the first half of the second century B.C.[1]

In the foot-note Professor Rapson refers to Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* p. 39. Bühler places the Hāthigumphā Inscription on the one hand and the Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā on the other in the same chronological group *on other than epigraphical considerations*. He writes, "Khāravela's Inscription must have been incised between B.C. 157 and 147, as the king's thirteenth year is said to correspond to the year 165 of 'the time of the Muriya (Maurya) kings', and it fixes also the time of the Nanaghat Inscription. For according to line 4, Khāravela assisted in

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 535.

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the second year of his reign a western king called Sātakaṇi. This Sātakaṇi probably is identical with the first Andhra prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas, whose inscribed image is found in the Nanaghat cave. Hence the date of the large inscription, which was incised during the regency of Sātakarṇi's widow Nāganikā, cannot be much later than B.C. 150."[1]

If, ignoring the supposed date in the Hāthigumphā Inscription, we compare the characters of this inscription (called H below) with those of the Nanaghat inscriptions of queen Nāganikā (called N) we note the following points of difference[2] :—

(1) A very prominent decorative feature, a small knob or nail-head at the top of the main vertical of the letters (called Serif by Bühler) is very rare (practically absent) in N, but quite common in H.

(2) The *ka* in N. has the shape of a Roman Cross with the horizontal line equal to the vertical line, whereas the same letter in H. has the shape of a Greek Cross or a dagger with a horizontal line that is invariably smaller than the vertical line.

The lower part of the *cha* in N. has the shape of a circle bisected by the vertical line ; in H. the lower part of *chá* consists of a pair of loops touching each other and the whole letter has the shape of a butterfly.

(4) In N. the lower part of *ta* is angular in form ; in H. the lower part of *ta* is semi-circular.

1 *Indian Antiquary*, vol, XXXIII, App., p. 39.

2 This comparison is based, not only on a study of the published facsimiles of the Nanaghat (*Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. V, Plate II) and Hāthigumphā (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, Plate facing p. 472 ; *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, Plates attached to p. 22) inscriptions, but also on a careful examination of the original paper impressions of both taken by Mr. R. D. Banerji, when Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle, and lent to me by the Director General of Archæology in India.

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(5) The longer (right) vertical line of *bha* in N. is not straight, but slightly bent, as in *bhas* in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of the time of Antialcidas; in H. the *bha* has invariably a straight vertical line to the left.

These differences indicate that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions on the one hand and those of the Hāthigumphā inscription on the other should be classed as two different varieties of the Brāhmī script. The Nanaghat script agrees with the Brāhmī legends on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon,[1] and the Besnagar Inscription[2] of the time of Antialcidas,—documents that may be assigned to the second century B.C. with tolerable certainty,—in those very particulars in which it differs from the script used in the Hāthigumphā inscription. The alphabet of the Nanaghat inscriptions belongs to the class I have elsewhere designated as the early Śuṅga script while the alphabet of the Hāthigumphā inscription represents the later Śuṅga script.[3] It may be argued that the types of Brāhmī alphabet used in the Besnagar inscription, the Nanaghat inscriptions and the Hāthigumphā inscription, occurring so far apart, may as well be recognised as contemporaneous local variations as successive variations. But at Sāñchī and Barhut we find the two types of writing side by side. The alphabet of the inscriptions on the main ground rail of Stūpa I and on the ground rail II at Sāñchī is of the early Śuṅga type with plain vertical lines, whereas the alphabet of the inscriptions on the gateways of Stūpa I (including the one containing the name of Sātakarṇi) and on the remains of the railing of Stūpa

1 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Plate I, 12; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, Plate II, 1 and 2.

2 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1, Plate II.

3 "Notes on Sanchi inscriptions," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XI, 1925, pp. 76-77; *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1.

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III at Sāñchī is of the knob-headed Hāthigumphā type.[1] Similarly most of the inscriptions on the railing of Barhut now in the Indian Museum are of the early Śuṅga type, but Dhanabhūti's Inscription on a pillar of the gateway and votive inscriptions on two other rail pillars are of the knob-headed type. So the difference between these two types of Brāhmī cannot be rightly attributed to the difference of locality only. The knob or nail-head on top of the main vertical line of the letters is a feature that is always found in decidedly later inscriptions all over India, such as the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā (Soḍāsa) and Western India, and of the later Andhra kings found in the cave-temples of Western India and on the stones of Amarāvatī. Therefore the presence of the knob-headed verticals in the Hāthigumphā and other inscriptions indicates that these records belong to a later age than the Brāhmī inscriptions with plain verticals. Recently fortune has placed in our hands a Brāhmī inscription which may be assigned to about the middle of the first century B.C. with tolerable certainty on independent grounds and therefore the alphabet of this inscription may be safely recognised as a chronological landmark in the history of the Brāhmī script.

4. *The sixth of Puṣyamitra*

This dateable Brāhmī inscription is the Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā first published by Babu Jagannathdas Ratnakar in the Nāgarī Pracārini Patrikā, vol. V, p. 100. It has since then been dealt with by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal more than once.[2] The name of the donor at the end of line 1 of the Ayodhyā Inscription has, I believe, been correctly res-

1 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1, Plates III-VI.

2 K. P. Jayaswal, "An inscription of the Śuṅga dynasty," *Modern Review*, October, 1924, pp. 430-2; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. X, pp. 202-208; *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 247-249.

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tored by Mr. Jayaswal as Dhanadeva. The only doubtful word in the record is *dharmarājñā* in line 2. Messrs. Jagannathdas and Jayaswal in his first paper took it as an epithet of the donor Dhanadeva. Mr. Jayaswal's proposed emendation Dharmarājñī (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, p. 247) is untenable. The sign of Medial *i* of Brāhmī *ja* is an upward stroke attached to the top-most horizontal line of the letter as in *ji* of *yājinah* in line 1 of the inscription. The same stroke, when attached to the middle horizontal line of *ja* stands for *ā*. We have such a stroke attached to the *j* of *jñ*. Mr. Jayaswal seems to mean that what looks like the sign of *ā* attached to the middle line of *j* is really the sign *i* at the top of the vertical line of *ñ*. But *ñ* is the subscript of the conjunct *jñ* and the sign of *i* cannot be attached to the subscript like the sign of *ñ*. Dharmarājñā as an epithet of the donor, the lord of Kosala, yields good sense, and, therefore, no emendation is called for. In the Hāthigumphā inscription Mahārāja Khāravela, Lord of Kaliṅga, is called Dharmarāja; and in the Malavalli pillar inscription Sivakhadavamman, *rājan* of the Kadambas, is styled Dhammamahārājādhirāja.[1]

There are two very ambiguous words in this short record. One of these is *ketana* in line 2. According to the Sanskrit lexicons *ketana* means either "house" or "flag-staff." Mr. Jayaswal takes the word in the sense of a statue house or flagstaff to serve as a funeral monument, but does not cite any authority in support of his interpretation. The stone bearing the inscription is a slab and not a fragment of a pillar. So the monument [*ketana*] could not have been a flagstaff. The only known ancient funeral monument in Eastern India is the *stūpa* which is nowhere called *ketana*. As the donor calls himself 'lord of Kośala' and 'Dharmajāja' in the inscription, it is very probable that his father was not alive at the

1 Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, Appendix), No. 1196.

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time. So, if *ketana* was not a funeral monument, it must have been a shrine where either something belonging to Phalgudeva's person, such as his sandal or his image, was deposited for worship. In the Rāmāyaṇa (II, 112f.) it is stated that when Rāma refused to return from exile to Ayodhyā to occupy the throne, his younger brother Bharata took a pair of Rāma's sandals, installed them on the vacant throne of Ayodhyā, and ruled the kingdom on behalf of these symbols till Rāma's return. Did the *ketana* enshrine the sandals of Phalgudeva that were being worshipped by the citizens of Ayodhya? In the Śuṅga period India was in close contact with the Hellenistic world and borrowed considerable elements of Hellenistic culture. In the Hellenistic world the kings were officially recognised as gods. Antiochus I deified his father Seleucus as Zeus Nikator. Antiochus II perhaps officially became a god during life, and "from his reign there seems to have been an official worship of the dynasty, including the living king, located in the capitals of the satrapies but with local variations of form."[1] The erection of a stone building is not necessary for the usual Indian *śrāddha* or ancestor worship. The *ketana* was probably intended for public worship. It, therefore, seems to me that Dhanadeva, following the example of the Greks, inaugurated the public worship of his deceased father Phalgudeva, who must have sat on the throne of Kośala before him, by erecting a *ketana* or shrine for him.

Another ambiguous term in the inscription is *ṣaṣṭhena* in the phrase, *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena*, "by the sixth of Puṣyamitra," which has given rise to some controversy.[2]

1 W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, London, 1927, p. 50.

2 Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, "Textual Notes on the newly-discoverd Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā," *Modern Review*, January, 1925, pp. 59-60; N. K. Bhattasali and A. Banerji-Sastri, "The New Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā," *Modern Review*, February, 1925, pp. 202-203; N. G. Majumdar, "A Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol. VIII, pp. 160-163.

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Mr. Jayaswal translates this phrase, "the sixth son of Puṣyamitra," and cites in support of this interpretation Mallinātha's explanation of *pañcamaṃ Takṣakasya* in Raghuvaṃśa XVI, 88 as *Takṣakasya pañcamaṃ putram*, "the fifth son of Takṣaka." But two other commentators, Dinakara and Vallabha, explain the phrase as "the grandson's grandson or fifth in descent from Takṣaka."[1] So it is evident that the scholiasts of the Raghuvaṃsa were uncertain about the meaning of the term. The uncertainty arises from the fact that nowhere in the extant literature are either the five sons of Takṣaka with Kumuda as the youngest, or five ancestors of Kumuda up to Takṣaka, find mention.[2] Unless we adopt Mr. Jayaswal's uncalled for emendation, *dharmarājñī-pituḥ*, his interpretation of *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena* (the sixth son of Puṣyamitra) involves the recognition of Phalgudeva, father of Dhanadeva, as an alias of Puṣyamitra. But the use of two different names for the same person in two different lines of a short record consisting of two lines only is inconceivable. We, therefore, have to explain "sixth of Puṣyamitra" in the sense of "sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra" and recognise Dhanadeva as the grandson of the great-grandson of Puṣyamitra. The use of ordinal number in the sense of descent is common in archaic Sanskrit. In Mahābhārata I, 76, 3183, King Janamejaya is made to say :—

Yayātiḥ pūrvajo' smākaṃ daśamo yaḥ Prajāpateḥ

"Yayāti, who is tenth of (or from) Prajāpati, is our ancestor."

We learn from the genealogy of the Aila family given in the Mahābhārata (I, 75) and other texts that Yayāti was tenth in descent from Prajāpati through Mārīcī, Kaśyapa,

1 *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, edited by S. P. Pandit, Bombay, 1897, p. 496 and Notes, p. 151.

2 J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, London, 1926. See references to Kumuda from the Index.

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Vivasvant, Manu, Ilā (or Ilā), Purūravas, Āyu and Nahuṣa. In the Mahābhārata XII, 59, 112 it is said of King Pṛthu :—

ātmanoṣṭama ityeva śrutir-eṣā parā nṛṣu

"This best Śruti (Vedic text) is (known) among men that (Pṛthu is) eighth from Viṣṇu."

The genealogy given in the Mahābhārata X, 59 (88-93) shows that Pṛthu was eighth in descent from Viṣṇu through Virajas, Kīrtimat, Kardama, Anaṅga, Ativala and Veṇa. Again in the Mahābhārata XII, 351, 4 it is said of Vyāsa[1] :—

pitāmah=ādyaṃ pravadanti ṣaṣṭham

"Who (Vyāsa) is said to be sixth in descent from the originator of Brahmā (i.e. Nārāyaṇa)."

This difficult *pāda* of a stanza is explained in the same section of the epic (XII, 351). Janamejaya misunderstands *ṣaṣṭham* and asks the narrator, Vaiśampāyana, "O best of Brahmans, you have already given me an account of the ancestory (of Vyāsa). Vaśiṣṭha's son (was) Śaktri ; Śaktri's son (was) Parāsara ; Parasara's son was the ascetic Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana. Again you call him the son of Nārāyaṇa." Vaiśampāyana in reply narrates an old legend (*ākhyāna*). At the time of the seventh creation Nārāyaṇa created Brahmā called Pitāmaha (grandfather) from his navel. In the cycle of Manu, son of Vivasvant, Vaśiṣṭha came into being as one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, son of Parāsara, was the great-grandson of Vaśiṣṭha and, therefore, sixth in descent from Nārāyaṇa, the *ādi* or source of Brahmā, the Grandfather. When more sons than one are named side by side, it may be necessary to distinguish one from the other by using the original number. Even then, as Patañjali points out in the Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini I,1, 21), "When there are many sons, this is the way of speaking : "This is my eldest (son), this is my middlemost (son), this

1 In P. C. Ray and M. N. Dutt's English versions, XII, 350 ; but see *Mahābhārata*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1837, XII, 351.

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is my youngest (son)."[1] But when only one son is named, it is unnecessary to do so. So if the donor of the Ayodhyā inscription had been a son of Puṣyamitra, he would have simply designated himself *Puṣyamitrasya putreṇa Kausikiputreṇa*, as in a Pabhosa inscription[2] the donor Āṣāḍhasena is designated *Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidarīputreṇa*, and in the Bharhut gateway inscription[3] Dhanabhūti is called *Āgarajusa putreṇa Vāchiputreṇa*. Therefore we have to interpret *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena* as "sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra" and recognise in Dhanadeva a grandson's great-grandson of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

Adopting 148 B.C. as the year of Puṣyamitra's death, and allowing 25 years for each intervening generation, we obtain 50 B.C. as the date of Dhanadeva's inscription. It is not possible to fix the date of any other record of the Śuṅga period even within such limits. The characters of this inscription may, therefore, be taken as tests for recognising later Śuṅga inscriptions assignable to the first century B.C. The most notable features of the alphabet of this inscription are :—

(1) A knob or nail-head at the top of the main vertical line of each letter.

(2) A tendency to equalise the upper vertical lines of *pa*, *ya*, *ṣa*, *sa*. The upper vertical lines of these letters are completely equalised in the Brahmī inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāśa and of the Kushan kings.

(3) Use of the archaic *da* as compared to the advanced *da* used in the inscriptions of Śoḍāśa.

(4) Use of *ra* represented by straight vertical line without the curve at the lower end as in the *ra* of the inscriptions of Śoḍāśa and of the Kushan kings.

1 *bahuṣu putreshv-etad-upapannaṃ bhavati ayaṃ me jyeṣṭho 'yaṃ madhyamo' yaṃ kaniyāniti*

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 243.

3 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, I, p. 21, no. 20.

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(5) Use of angular forms of *ja*, *pha*, *ma*, *la* and *ṣa*.

In the knob-headed variety of Brāhmī, though the equalisation of the upper verticals is a test of age, the angular form does not seem to be so ; for in the votive inscriptions on the old railing of Bodh-Gaya[1] we come across angular forms of the above-named letters along with unequalised upper verticals. Apart from other evidences dealt with above, on the analogy of the alphabet of the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva the alphabet of the Hathigumpha inscription has to be assigned to the later Śuṅga period in the first century B.C. The history of the later Śuṅgas enables us to fix the dates of Khāravela's invasions of Magadha with greater definiteness.

5. *The decline and fall of the Śuṅga Empire*

The Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas contain lists of the Śuṅga kings who succeeded Puṣyamitra. The names in these lists vary considerably. Pargiter has prepared the following list by combining them :—[2]

2. Agnimitra (son of Puṣyamitra) will be king 8 years.
3. Vasujyeṣṭha.....will be king 7 years.
4. Vasumitra (son of Vasujyeṣṭha) will be king 10 years.
5. Andhraka (son of 4) will be king 3 years.
6. Pulindaka... .....will be king 3 years.
7. Ghoṣa (son of 6) will be king 3 years.
8. Vajramitra.....will be king 9 years.
9. Bhāgavata.....will be king 32 years.
10. Devabhūmi (son of 9) will be king 10 years.

Agnimitra is named both by the Purāṇas and the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa. As, according to Kalidāsa, Agnimitra's son Vasumitra was old enough to be placed in charge of the guards of the sacrificial horse by Puṣyamitra,

1 Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Plate X.

2 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 70.

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Agnimitra must have succeeded his father when he was advanced in years and there is nothing abnormal about his short reign of 8 years. He was probably succeeded by his eldest son Vasujyeṣṭha. Vasumitra, who succeeded Vasujyeṣṭha, is Vasujyeṣṭha's brother and not his son if we are to believe Kalidāsa, Bāṇa writes in the Harṣacarita, "Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, being overfond of drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a scimitar shorn, like a lotus stock, of his head."[1] It is usually assumed that this Sumitra is the same as Vasumitra, the fourth Śuṅga king. The tragic end of Sumitra or Vasumitra indicates that there were dissensions in the imperial family, which must have paved the way for the decline of the empire. The next name in the list is given in four different ways in the four Purāṇas: Vāyu has *Andhraka*, Matsya *Antaka*, Viṣṇu *Ārdraka*, Brahmāṇḍa *Bhadra* and Bhāgavata *Bhadraka*. Two of the ten manuscripts of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa examined by Pargiter, *b* and *h*, have *Odruka* instead of the form *Ārdraka*. As we have already seen, one of the Pabhosa cave inscriptions (Lüders' List, 904) is dated in the tenth year of a king whose name is rightly read by Lüders as *Udāka*. Mr. Jayaswal restores this name as *Odraka* and further considers *Odruka*, found in a few only of the manuscripts of Viṣṇu Purāṇa, *Andhraka* of the Vāyu, *Bhadra* of the Brahmāṇḍa and *Bhadraka* of the Bhāgavata as variants.[2] Prof. Rapson finds no other difficulty in accepting these suggestions than that while the Odraka (Udāka) of the Pabhosa inscription reigned at least 10 years, the authorities examined by Pargiter assign to Andhraka (or Bhadraka or Antaka) a reign of 2 or 7 years only, and proposes to get over it by assuming "that an error has crept into the text of the Puraṇas."[3] The question to be considered in connec-

1 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, pp. 473-475.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 521.

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tion with the Purāṇic accounts of the successors of Puṣyamitra is not, whether an error has crept in here or there, but quite the other way,—whether there is anything that is free from error. If the fifth Śuṅga king whose name is given by the different Purāṇas in such different forms as Bhadra, Bhadraka, Ārdaka, Andhraka, Antaka, has to be identified with any king mentioned in the epigraphic records of the Śuṅga period he should be identified with king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, in the fourteenth year of whose reign the Yavana ambassador Heliodorus installed a Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva at Vidiśā, Besnagar (Lüders' List, 669). Assuming that the Purāṇic figures relating to the duration of the reigns of the second, third and fourth Śuṅga kings are approximately correct, the accession of Bhadra or Bhāgabhadra should have to be assigned to about 123 B.C. and the date of the Besnagar pillar inscription to about 107 B.C., a date which may fall within the reign of Antialcidas, successor of Heliocles. Professor Rapson proposes to identify Bhāgabhadra with Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga king according to the Purāṇic list, and writes, "The name of this Śuṅga king appears as Bhāgavata on a fragment of another column which was found at Bhilsa, but which is supposed to have been taken there from Besnagar. The inscription was engraved when the king was reigning in his twelvth year."[1] Bhilsa is within two miles of modern Besnagar. It is incredible that a king who is called Bhāgavata in an inscription of the 12th year of his reign could be designated by a radically different name like Bhāgabhadra two years later in an inscription on a pillar installed in the same city. Whoever the Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas may prove to be, Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata mentioned in two different Brāhmī inscriptions found at Besnagar and Bhilsa respectively must be treated as two different persons. It does not, however, seem to me quite reasonable to seek to identify Bhāgabhadra and

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 522.

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Bhāgavata, who might have belonged to the Vidiśā branch of the Śuṅga family rather than to the Pāṭalīputra branch, with any king named in the Purāṇic list. After the assassination of Sumitra or Vasumitra some of the provincial generals probably refused to recognise the usurper, and the viceroy of Vidiśā might have been one of the number. The Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti is placed in the time "when the Śuṅgas are ruling" (*suganaṃ raje*) instead of being dated in the regnal year of any particular sovereign like the two Besnagar pillar inscriptions. So it may be inferred that when this inscription in knob-headed letters of the later Śuṅga period was engraved, the Śuṅga empire had no recognised head, but was transformed into a loose federation of principalities ruled by princes of the Śuṅga family.

The Śuṅga king Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas was succeeded by his son Devabhūmi who reigned only for 10 years. "The minister Vāsudeva," we are told in the Purāṇa, "forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas (or will become the Śuṅga king)." Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita gives this somewhat different account of the overthrow of the Śuṅga king Devabhūti who is usually identified with Devabhūmi: "In a frenzy of passion the over-libidinous Śuṅga was at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave-woman disguised as a queen."[1] Vāsudeva was a Kāṇva Brāhmin. The four Kāṇvāyana kings beginning with Vāsudeva ruled for 45 years. Then "the Andhra Siśuka (or Sindhuka) with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain the earth."[2] The Purāṇic statement that the Kāṇva Vāsudeva "will become king among the Śuṅgas" or "will become the Śuṅga king", read along with

1 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

2 Pargiter, *op cit.*, p. 71.

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the statement that the Andhra Siśuka "will destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas", seem to me to indicate that Devabhūmi, or Devabhūti, ruler of Magadha, was the nominal head of the Śuṅga federation. Vāsudeva Kāṇva usurped that position by assassinating him, but probably did not interfere with the other Śuṅga principalities. Whatever the date of Vāsudeva Kāṇva, it was the almost simultaneous attacks of the Andhra king Sātakarṇi from the south, and of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, from the south-east, that led to the break up of the Śuṅga empire. In the Hāthigumphā inscription (line 4) it is said that in the second year of his reign Khāravela sent an expedition to the west without taking heed (*achitayitā*) of Sātakarṇi. The country to the west of Orissa was known as the Dakṣiṇa (southern) Kosala or Chedi (Central Provinces). Sātakarṇi was evidently engaged in subduing Vidarbha (Berar) and Mālava, and presumably had also an eye on the neighbouring Dakṣiṇa Kosala when Khāravela forestalled him by sending an expedition thither. An inscription on the southern gateway of the Stūpa I of Sāñchī tells us :—

"This is the gift of Ānaṁda, son of Vāsiṭhi (Vāsiṣṭhī), and the superintendent of the workshop of king Siri-Sātakaṇi."

The Brāhmī characters used in this short epigraph agree with the characters of the Hāthigumphā inscription in those particulars in which the latter differ from the alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions. I have, therefore, identified this Siri-Sātakaṇi of this Sāñchī inscription and Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription with the sixth Andhra king of the Purāṇic list, Sātakarṇi II, who is said to have reigned for 56 years.[1] This votive inscription on the magnificent south gate of the great stūpa of Sāñchī, which

1 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, I, p. 8, Plate vi, No. 1; Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 13.

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is only five miles to the west of Besnagar, ancient Vidiśā, seems to me to indicate that the Śuṅga capital in Mālava was then in possession of Sātakarṇi II.

Six years later, in the eighth year of his reign, as we have already seen, Khāravela first invaded Magadha and laid siege to Rājagṛha. What was the direct result of this siege we do not know. But it had an important indirect result; it induced the Yavana king to give up his expedition against Magadha and hasten to the assistance of the garrison at Mathurā. No Indo-Greek coin has yet been discovered at or about Mathura, and there is no other evidence to show that any Indo-Greek king ever held possession of that city. The Yavana-rāja mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription must have been a Greek refugee from the Eastern Punjab who was forced to seek shelter in the Madhyadeśa (Middle country of Northern India) by the Śaka conqueror Maues. I should, therefore, venture to put down the accession of Khāravela to about 80 B.C. and the siege of Rājagṛha to 72 B.C. Khāravela dealt the decisive blow to the Śuṅga empire four years later (B.C. 68) when he entered the imperial capital (Pāṭalīputra) in triumph and made the king of Magadha fall at his feet. Among the other principalities of the Śuṅga empire, Mathurā and Mālava were conquered by the Śaka-Parthians about the middle of the first century B.C. The Śuṅga principalities of Pañchāla and Kośala evidently survived for more than a century and a half till they were overthrown by the Kushāns.[1]

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

1 For the coins of the kings of Ayodhyā (Kośala) and Pañchāla see V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-151, 186-188.

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The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kauṭilīya

II

The Superintendent of Courtezans had to perform diverse duties which may be roughly summed up as concerning the

Gaṇikādhyakṣa.

(1) appointment of female attendents for the king and his household, their leave, dismissal, transfer to other government departments such as the store-house and the royal kitchen ; (2) the application of the law regulating the treatment of courtezans, and the rights and liabilities between them on the one hand, and their relatives, paramours, or other people on the other ; (3) the supervision of the training of the courtezans and their children as also the training of female slaves and actresses in music, dancing, painting, etc. under teachers obtaining grants from the State ; (4) the collection of license fees from the singers, dancers etc. and information from the courtezans regarding their incomes and visitors ; and (5) the supply of competent courtezans for detecting foreign spies.

The nature of the duties outlined above shows that the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa* had to work in co-ordination with the *Samāhartṛ*, the Superintendent of the Store-house and such other officials. It is not clearly stated that he is subordinate to the *Samāhartṛ*, though in the class of taxes relating to *Durga*, the license fees realized from the public women are included. This points to the fact that the revenue collected by the Superintendent of Courtezans is made over to the *Samāhartṛ*. The Superintendent has also to come into frequent contact with the department under the *Antarvaṃsika* (the Superintendent of the Ladies' Apartments) but there is no ground for inferring that the one was subordinate to the other.

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The duties of the *Nāvadhyakṣa* were very onerous. He had to supervise the proper realization of dues of various kinds for the use of boats and ships belonging to the sovereign in oceans, lakes, rivers etc. for transport from one place to another, for fording, pearl-fishing and so forth. The imposition called *Klpta* had to be paid by the people of villages on the sea-shore or on the banks of rivers, the *naukāhāṭaka* by fishermen amounting to one-sixth of their haul of fishes, the *śulka* by merchants landing in port towns, the *yātrāvetana* (sailing fee) by the passengers on board the king's ships, the *tara* by people fording a river and so forth. The *ātivāhika* (conveyance cess) and the *vartanī* (a cess on beasts) were also realized. The freights for the transport of goods or live-stock across rivers were fixed e.g. 4 *māṣas* were charged for a camel or a buffalo, 5 *māṣas* for a small cart; for big rivers the freights were double the amounts. The *Nāvadhyakṣa* had to work properly the huge machinery by which these charges were realised.

Nāvadhyakṣa.

The manning of ships and boats all over the places under the charge of the Superintendent with *śāsakas* (captains), *niyāmakas* (steersmen), *dātraraśmigrāhakas* (sailors with sickles and ropes) and *utsecakas* (sailors for baling out water), the repair of these vessels as well as the enforcement of the regulations as to the time and place for crossing rivers, entrance of foreign merchants into the country, arrests of suspects, concessions made to particular classes of persons in respect of ferry fees and so forth made the duties of the official very heavy indeed.

It was also the duty of the head of this department to see that the rules in force in a commercial town as also the customs prevailing there were obeyed by the passengers and the crew manning the ships that touched there. He was authorized to destroy the pirate ships. The vessels that violated the rules or customs of the commercial town as well as those that belonged to an enemy's country could

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also be similarly dealt with. The weather-beaten ships had to be shown kindly treatment while those that reached the harbour with their merchandise spoilt by water were exempted from the payment of toll.

The nature of the connection of the department under the *Nāvadhyakṣa* with the military department is nowhere explained. In one passage (*K.*, VII, 10) a reference has been made to the comparative insecurity of a fort surrounded by a river because it can be approached by the assailing army in various ways, one of which is by a bridge of boats. As there is no mention of the existence of boats and ships belonging exculsively to the military department for use for military purposes, it is inferrable that the *Nāvadhyakṣa* supplied the requisite vessels to the department when needed.

As details about the three departments under the three officers *Go'dhyakṣa*, *Aśvādhyakṣa*, and *Hastyadhyakṣa* have already been given in my *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, I need only point out here the connection of these with the other departments, if any. The first two departments had an obvious link with the department under the Superintendent of Grazing Grounds (*Vivītādhyakṣa*) whose duty was to open, preserve, and improve pastures and keep them secure for grazing by the appointment of hunters (*lubdhakas*) with packs of hounds watching thieves and enemies and warding off dangers from wild animals.[1] The military department had a close connection with all the three departments because the cattle needed for the commissariat and the horses and elephants required by that department in times of peace or war were supplied by them. The animals disabled by war were returned to them for maintenance. To make the horses and elephants fit for military purposes, there was provision for imparting to them adequate training by expert trainers. To cater to the needs of the sovereign and his household

Go'dhyakṣa Aśvādhyakṣa and Hastyadhyakṣa.

1 *K.*, II, 34.

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throughout the year including ceremonial occasions was one of the most important duties of the Superintendents. The supply of stores for these departments has been mentioned as made from the Store-house (*koṣṭhāgāra*) and the Treasure-house (*kośāgara*)[1] indicating the close connection subsisting among the departments.

The Superintendent of Elephants had, in addition to his duty in connection with the internal arrangements in the elephant stables and the training of the animals, to look to the preservation of elephant-forests. To carry on this portion of the work, there was the *Nāgavanādhyakṣa*, the Superintendent of the Elephant Forests, assisted by the *Nāgavanapālas*, the keepers of these forests. The officers were acquainted with the limits of the forests under their charge, and could, when necessary, point out the paths leading into and out of these tracts. They used to capture elephants for the sovereign, aided by a special set of men designated as (1) *Hastipaka* (driver),

(2) *Padapāśika* (slipper of nooses round the legs of the animals)

(3) *Saimika* (boundary guard)

(4) *Pārikarmika* (servant for miscellaneous works)

(5) *Anīkastha* (trainer), and

(6) *Vanacaraka* (forest-roamer).[2]

Rathādhyakṣa.

The Superintendent of Chariots, like the four Superintendents whose functions have been described above, had to perform duties, important both from the civil and the military standpoint. The chariots were the principal means of conveyance of the rich and the middle class people while they constituted one of the four principal divisions of the ancient Hindu army. The fate of many a battle fought on the Indian soil, and consequently, of many a kingdom or empire within the Indian continent, depended, to a great extent, upon the *Rathā-*

1 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, p. 51. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 2.

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dhyakṣa's skill in combining in these vehicles lightness of built and strength of structure in due proportion. The chariots build by him were of several sizes and types. Seven different sizes are mentioned for chariots with a height of 10 puruṣas (10 ft.), the width ranging from 6 to 12 feet. Six kinds of chariots for different purposes are also enumerated viz. *Devaratha* (for the idols), *Puṣparatha* (for festive occasions), *Sāṅgrāmika* (for war), *Pāriyāṇika* (for travel), *Parapurābhiyānika* (for attack upon the citadel of an enemy), and *Vainayika* (for use during the period of training).

The *Rathādhyakṣa* was also entrusted with the duty of having the charioteers trained in the use of weapons, control of the horses drawing the vehicle, and such other technicalities essential to their military education.[1]

Patyadhyakṣa.

The Superintendent in charge of Infantry looked after its various classes taking note of their strength or weakness. He had to keep an eye on the armies of the allies, inimical States, and the democracies in order that he might understand the position of his own master and report it to his superior for the adoption of the necessary steps. It was his duty to supervise that the soldiers under him were being regularly drilled, and taught their duties as also the various modes of fighting adapted to the different kinds of battle-fields or to the peculiar circumstances that beset them.[2]

Senāpati.

The Commander-in-Chief[3] supervised the organization and efficiency of all the four divisions of the army viz., the horse, elephant, and chariot corps and the infantry. As already pointed out, the departments under the four Superintendents *Go'dhyakṣa*, *Aśvādhyakṣa*, *Hastyadhyakṣa* and *Rathādhyakṣa* had an

1 *K.*, II, ch. 33. 2 *Ibid.*

3 The term *Senāpati* is also used to denote a military officer of a much lower rank. Ten soldiers were under a *Padika*, ten *Padikas* under a *Senāpati* and ten *Senāpatis* under a *Nāyaka*. *K.*, X, ch 6, p. 377.

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intimate connection with the military department. It is not expressly stated that the three officers were directly under the *Senāpati* so far as their military duties were concerned. Assuming that it was not so the departments in the military aspects of their workings had to minister to the needs of the military department and to carry out the directions of the Commander-in-Chief communicated to them directly or otherwise. Hence, the subordinate position of the heads of the four departments in their relation to the Commander-in-Chief in actual working, if not formally, can well be inferred.[1]

The Commander-in-Chief had to be, it is needlss to mention, well-grounded in the use of all kinds of weapons and the conduct of all kinds of fighting. Endowed with administrative capacity, he must see that the daily duties are being fulfilled by all the four divisions of the army. Generally speaking, he must have the capacity to choose suitable sites for battle, suitable times for starting on a march and commencing a fight ; to keep the necessary information about the army of the enemy, to cause a breach in the enemy-camp, to break up the enemy's army and destroy the weak divisions, to storm the citadel, and to maintain the solidarity and morale of his own army inspite of the attempts of the opponents to the contrary.[2]

That the military defence of the State from both the internal and external enemies received a share of attention commensurate with its importance may be inferred among other evidences from the number of times it recurs in the king's routine of daily duties. It is allotted a portion of the period from 6 to 7-30 A. M., the period from 3 P. M. to 3-30 P.M. (for the inspection of horses, elephants, chariots, and infantry) and a portion of the time from 4-30 P.M. to 6 P.M. (for consultation with the Commander-in-Chief).[3] The

1 *K.*, II, ch. 33.
2 *K.*, II, ch. 33, p. 140.
3 *K.*, I, ch. 19.

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first time-division was frequently occupied by the inspection of the military skill displayed by the cadets receiving training for the four divisions of the army under the supervision of the Commander-in-Chief, and by the soldiers belonging to the horse, elephant, and chariot corps.[1]

The disciplinary rule mentioned by Megasthenes in connection with the military department, viz., 'There were royal stables for horses and elephants, and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and the horses and elephants to the stables' is borne out by the *Kauṭilīya*. The horses and elephants have to be returned to the departments under the Superintendent of Horses and the Superintendent of Elephants as the case may be, as it was these departments that supplied the animals for military purposes. The arms bearing the king's mark had also to be made over to the armoury under the *Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa* as the cadets or soldiers could not move about with them without a special permission. The weapons damaged through improper handling or lost, an account of which was kept in the department, had to be made good.

Mudrādhyakṣa.

There was a check upon the movement of people into and from the kingdom by means of the issue of passports from the office or agents of the Superintendent in charge of same for the nominal value of one māṣā for a pass. While it gave the government agents an opportunity of scrutinizing the men going out and coming in, it also served by the imposition of the charge to augment the State revenue. The omission to take a pass or the use of a counterfeit pass was visited with fines.[2]

Vivītādhyakṣa.

The checking of passport for ingress and egress of people carried out under the Superintendent of Passports had also to be done by the officers of the department under the Superintendent of Pastures when

1 *K.*, V, ch. 3, p. 249.

2 *K.*, II, ch. 34.

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the people who are to hold the passports stray away into the places within the jurisdiction of those officers.

The duties of the Superintendent of Pastures lay in opening grazing grounds in wild tracts by denuding them of wild animals, sinking wells and constructing reservoirs of water and embankments, and laying out gardens and orchards. The forests under his supervision had to be reconnoitred by hunters attached to his department taking with them packs of hounds for assistance in watching thieves and enemies, and warding off danger. The hunters had recourse to the following means for calling in the aid of king's men or others from afar :

(1) Blowing conch-shells and beating drums from concealed positions.

(2) Remaining concealed on trees or mountains and sending information.

(3) Riding away on swift horses etc.

(4) Flying carrier-pigeons of the royal household with marks attached to them. Their return to the royal palace with the necessary information secured the desired assistance.

(5) Indication of danger by lighting a series of beacon fires.

It was also the duty of the Superintendent to sell by utilizing or converting into a source of income what remained of the yield of the timber and elephant forests after utilization of same by the Superintendent of Forest Store-house and the Superintendent of Elephants, and realize the following cesses or charges viz, *vartanī* (for the maintenance of paths in forests), *cora*rakṣaṇa (for the provision for keeping away thieves) *sārthātivāhya* (for the escort of traders through forests), and *gorakṣya* (for the protection of cattle, or as Bhaṭṭasvāmin explains, agriculture generally).[1]

Nāgaraka.

The officer in charge of a town was called *Nāgaraka*. His duties may be classified as follows :—

1 *K.*, II, 34.

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(1) The functions performed by him in connection with the census operations and the land survey have been delineated elsewhere.[1] Suffice it to say that the town was for the purpose of these works divided into four quarters and in each of them was placed an officer called *Sthānika* supervising in his turn a number of subordinates, viz., the *Gopas*, each of whom took charge of collecting the necessary items of information from a certain number of households. The caste, *gotra*, name, occupation of both men and women, and their income and expenditure were the principal points that had to be ascertained. The difficulty of keeping account of travellers and non-residents coming to the town for a short stay was obviated by the regulation that the heads of charitable institutions and households must send the required information to the registering bureau at the proper time.

The work of cadastral survey was entrusted to the very same set of officers as above. The demarcation of boundaries of villages, numbering and classification of plots of land as cultivated, uncultivated, plain and upland, dry and wet, and so forth, and keeping accounts of temples, places of pilgrimage, feeding houses, cremation grounds, storages of water for travellers, pasture grounds, irrigation works etc. formed the special charge of these Government servants with the Nāgaraka at their head if the said items related to a town.

(2) The *Nāgaraka* had to see that the regulations against the breaking out of fire were duly observed by the residents of the town. The lighting of fire in houses was prohibited in summer during the hottest portions of the day (the second and third *yāma* during the day time) unless cooking was done in the open air outside. The owners of houses had to be equipped with these instruments for extinguishing fire as quickly as possible : (i) five water pots, (ii) a water vessel (*kumbha*), (iii) a water tub made of

1 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, pp. 111f.

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wood and kept at the door of a house, (iv) a ladder, (v) an axe to cut beams etc., (vi) a winnowing basket to blow away smoke, (vii) a hook to remove the burning pieces of wood, (viii) ropes and such other things, (ix) a basket for taking away articles from the store-room etc., and (x) a leather bag for the same purpose as the preceding.

During summer, thatched roofs made of straw and such other materials were removed. Those whose avocation required them to work by fire, such as blacksmiths, had to live in a particular locality. The owners of houses had to sleep in summer nights near the doors of their premises in order that they might quickly respond to a call for help in case fire broke out. Thousands of vessels full of water had to be kept in rows in the big roads and at their crossings, at the gates of the town and in buildings belonging to the State. An omission to run to give help to extinguish fire was a crime. The incendiaries were severely dealt with.[1]

The reason for the adoption of all these elaborate precautions lay in the fact, as pointed out elsewhere,[2] that timber was profusely used in the construction of buildings in those days in and near Magadha.

(3) The enforcement of the regulations concerning the conservancy and sanitation of the town was also entrusted to this official. The throwing of dirt and refuse into the street, the accumulation of mire in it owing to the negligence of the owners of premises, the commission of nuisances in sacred places, reservoirs of water, temples, and State-buildings, throwing of carcasses of animals and corpses of human beings into any place within the town, the transport of dead bodies through roads and gates other than those prescribed for the purpose, and their burial or cremation outside the burial grounds or crematoriums were visited with penalties.

(4) The maintenance of peace and order in the town

1 *K.*, II, ch. 36.
2 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, pp. 100, 102.

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rested on the *Nāgaraka*. The movement of people from one place to another within the town or outside it in its immediate vicinity without a lamp was prohibited every night between $2\frac{2}{5}$ hours (6 nālikās) after nightfall and the same number of hours before dawn. The offence was visited with a higher fine if it was committed by the side of the royal palace or during the two middle quarters of the night. Exceptions were made in favour of persons proceeding to attend to child-birth, carrying a corpse to the cremation ground, going to assemble at a place in answer to a trumpet call by the Nāgaraka, proceeding to witness a show, or running to extinguish a fire. The physicians, and persons holding passes were also exempted ; the people, who by their demeanour or disguise, or by the possession of weapons in their person gave rise to suspicion were examined or arrested. The Superintendent was to report to the king the ill omens noticed by him during the night. Many omens were believed to be of evil import to the king or the kingdom and this was sought to be counteracted by appropriate rites.

The Superintendent was to keep under a strict supervision the policemen in the performance of their duties, and their derelictions of duties, specially those in their conduct to the fair sex, were visited with penalties ranging even to death.

The articles lost or left behind by people through oversight were kept by him in safe custody.

It was open to the wayfarers to catch hold of persons who appeared to them by their conduct or external appearance to be of suspicious character, and bring them to the police. Searches were made probably through policemen in disguise in deserted houses, workshops, grogshops, gambling houses, shops of sellers of cooked rice and flesh, and abodes of heretics for the arrest of suspicious characters.

The release of prisoners from the jail in the town on festive or memorable occasions or for uniformly good conduct

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in the jail was made under the immediate supervision of the jailer (*Bandhanāgārādhyakṣa*). The insertion of the details regarding jail-delivery in the delineation of the duties of the Nāgaraka very probably implies that the responsibility of supervision was shared by him and the Nāgaraka.[1]

The Department of Espionage

Two sections of Gūḍhapuruṣas ; the classes under each section.

This department occupied a very important place in the administration of a State in ancient India. It was divided into two sections, viz., the one corresponding to the Secret Intelligence Department of a modern State, and the other to the department of secret emissaries, whose services are needed for the Military Department, and the Department for Foreign Affairs.

The following five classes of *gūḍhapuruṣas* (spies) come under the first section : 1. *Kāpaṭika*, 2. *Udāsthita*, 3. *Gṛhapatika*, 4. *Vaidehaka*, and 5. *Tāpasa*. According to the *Kauṭilīya*, *Kāpaṭika* is a disguised disciple, bold and competent to get at the core of the minds of people with whom he deals. The next four designations denote a recluse, a householder, a trader, and an ascetic (lit. a practiser of religious austerities) respectively.

Those classes that fall under the other section are : 1. *Satrin*, 2. *Tīkṣṇa*, 3. *Rasada*, and 4. *Bhikṣukī*.[2] 'Satrin' literally means 'one in disguise'. The *Satrins* had to learn fortune-telling, legerdemain, the *dharmaśāstras*, the science of interpreting the cries of birds, etc. The *Tīkṣṇas* (lit. rough, fiery, or audacious) had to be brave, able to face wild animals without caring for their own safety. The *Rasadas* were indolent, crooked, devoid of any tender feeling for even their friends and relations, and able, as the name implies, to administer poison. The *Bhikṣukīs* were female mendicants, who could have access to the women's apartments of the householders, where the spies of the other sex could not enter.

1 *K.*, II, ch. 36.

2 *K.*, I, chs. 11, 12.

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The salaries given to *Saṃsthas* were higher than those to the *Sañcāras*.[1] The former are called the *Saṃsthas* because their work requires that they should station themselves in a particular place for some time, while the latter are designated as *Sañcāras* because they have to roam about for the performance of their duties. In addition to this difference, there is one other, inferred from an examination of the instances of works done by the two classes, viz., that the *Saṃsthas* are, as a rule, required to do duties that do not directly involve acts of a violent nature, while the *Sañcāras* are to commit acts of violence or cause them to be committed, if necessary, e.g., murder, arson, looting. Thus the *Saṃsthas* may well be called secret informants, and the *Sañcāras* secret agents. Hence, this nomenclature will be followed later on. Though the duties were different, the two classes had frequently to work in unison, each class doing its portion of the work in co-ordination with the other. Though the designations of the spies have been evidently given them either on account of the disguises put on, the qualities regarded as essential to their functions, or the nature of the duties performed by them, the set of spies mentioned first is, according to the text, divided into only five classes. There is however no limit to the disguises under which the spies have to work, and in fact the *Kauṭilīya* mentions many more than five, as for instance, a spy may be disguised as hump-backed, dwarfish, deaf, dumb, and blind, or as a dancer, a singer, or a performer on musical instruments. These assumed appearances, however, do not add to the number of the divisions of the 'secret informants,' viz., five. The 'secret agents' again are divided into four classes though the disguises used by them vary according to circumstances.

Differences between the two classes.

1 *K.*, V, ch. 3.

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The duties of the spies may be classified as :

A. To carry out the instruction of the king or any official or officials authorized by him to test the character of probationers for posts in any of the Government departments by putting temptations in their way. The nature of the temptations (*upadhā*) varied according to the qualifications needed for discharging the duties of the post for which a particular probationer was a candidate. These tests were (a) *dharmopadhā*, (b) *arthopadhā*, (c) *kāmopadhā*, and (d) *bhayopadhā*, relating to religion, wealth, love, and fear respectively.[1] Illustrations will make the meaning clear. A priest is ostensibly insulted or dismissed by the king for not complying with his instruction to officiate at a religious rite performed by an outcast. He sends the *satrins* under disguises to the officials to be tested, inciting them to join him in a conspiracy against the unrighteous king. Those that agree to the proposal are found wanting under the test. This is the religious test.[2]

Proposals may be thus made by ostensibly dismissed army officers, or women (really spies) having access into the royal household pointing out the prospect of acquiring wealth by attempting the life of the king, or throwing out the hope of getting one of the ladies of the king's harem entangled in love.[3] These are the *arthopadhā* and *kāmopadhā* respectively. Those candidates, who are successful in all the tests, are eligible for being appointed as *mantrins* : those that pass the religious tests may be selected for posts in the law-courts. The overcoming of monetary allurements proves men fit for service in the State departments under Samāhartṛ etc. where money is handled on a large scale. The successful resistance to amatory allurements proves the capacity for performing duties in places where women reside. The application of the *upadhā* named last is the means for

1 *K.*, I, ch. 10.

2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 10.

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selecting those, the nature of whose services requires their presence near the king. Those who failed in all the tests could be engaged in the departments where only physical labour was needed such as the mines and forests.[1]

B. To watch the purity of the official conduct of the heads of the various departments and their subordinates. The stationing of spies to watch the *tīrthas* is mentioned in several old Sanskrit works.[2] The eighteen *tīrthas* exhaust,[3] roughly at least, the whole sphere of work of a State and meet its indispensable requirements providing for the deliberation of State questions and assistance to the sovereign, both secular and spiritual, for his personal safety and convenience, for the administration of justice in the country, for its internal peace and external security, for the collection of State-dues and their application, and lastly for the supply of material needs of the people by the exploitation of its natural resources, by manufactures, commerce and industries.[4] The information gathered regarding the *tīrthas* is sufficient for ordinary purposes to show the inner workings of a State and the direction of its policy.

The collection of information as to what was going on in the neighbouring kingdoms, e.g., in the states within a king's *maṇḍala* such as *śatru* (enemy), *mitra* (friend), *udāsīna* (the state possessing the greatest strength within the *maṇḍala*) and *madhyama* (the state possessing medium strength within the *maṇḍala*),[5] was a necessity, as other-

1 *K.*, 1, ch. 10.

2 See *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 84-86.

3 They are : (1) *Mantrin*, (2) *Purohita*, (3) *Senāpati*, (4) *Yuvarāja*, (5) *Dauvārika*, (6) *Antarvaṃśika*, (7) *Praśāstṛ*, (8) *Samāhartṛ*, (9) *Sannidhātṛ*, (10) *Pradeṣṭṛ*, (11) *Nāyaka*, (12) *Pauravyāvahārika*, (13) *Kārmāntika*, (14) *Mantriparişadadhyakṣa*. (15) *Daṇḍapāla*, (16) *Durgapāla*, (17) *Antapāla* and (18) *Āṭavika*.

4 *Aspects etc.*, p. 86

5 For an explanation of the terms *udāsīna* and *madhyama* see my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, p. 13. Kauṭilya has

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wise a king and his highest officials could never keep themselves apprised of the doings and the policy of the other states, and thus try to make their own position secure by being pre-warned. Hence spies were appointed to watch secretly and report about the workings of the various departments of the surrounding states and about the doings of their authorities. It is superfluous to point out the importance of the supply of important items of correct information about the developments in the administration of the neighbouring states, for the fickle changes in the inter-state atmosphere in those days could have brought about a ruinous storm at any moment; and to have been thus forewarned was to have been forearmed. A convenient and probably cheaper method of having reports from other kingdoms through spies was by appointing what were called the *ubhayavetanas*.[1] They were in the pay of the State engaging their services as spies, while at the same time they secured jobs in the departments of the other State whence they wanted to collect information, receiving salaries for their labour from that State.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] and the *Mahābhārata*,[3] the first three *tīrthas* viz., *mantrin*, *purohita*, and *yuvarāja* are excluded from the observation of the spies engaged by a king within his own kingdom, while they are not excluded by him so far as other States are concerned. Three spies unknown to one another are allotted, according to the texts, to each *tīrtha* in order that their independent reports may check one another, and suggest the necessity of a further verification before action in case of their mutual disagreement. This is also the procedure mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*[4]: *trayāṇām eka-*

evaṃ śatrau ca mitre ca madhyame cāvapec carān,
udāsine ca teṣāṃ ca tīrtheṣv aṣṭādaśasv api. *K.*, I, ch. 12.

Cf. K., VII, ch. 13—kṛtsne ca maṇḍale nityaṃ dūtān gūḍhāṃś ca vāsayet.

1 *K.*, I, ch. 2. 2 II, 100, 36. 3 II, 5, 38. 4 *K.*, I, ch. 12.

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vākye sampratyayaḥ (confidence is to be placed in the reports in case of their unanimity). The limitation of the number of spies to three is not however found in the *Kauṭilīya*.

C. To watch the citizens who are disaffected in the king's own dominion as also those who are for or against him in the neighbouring states in order that, when necessary, the disaffected may be won over by conciliation or gifts, or kept in check through dissension among themselves or recourse to violence. The loyal may have their attitude towards him strengthened by honours and rewards, and the influence of hostile kings secretly operating to alienate the subjects may be kept in abeyance or nullified by prompt and adequate measures.[1] In short, their duty is to watch the *kṛtyas* and *akṛtyas* in the king's own dominion as also in the neighbouring ones (*svaviṣaye* and *paraviṣaye*), and take the necessary actions. Those people who in a State are susceptible to persuasion by the spies from other dominions have been classified in the *Kauṭilīya*[2] as (1) the angry (*kruddhavarga*), (2) the alarmed (*bhītavarga*), (3) the greedy (*lubdhavarga*) and (4) the proud (*mānivarga*). The nature of the individuals or the circumstances by reason of which they are classed under one head or another are detailed by way of illustration in the *Kauṭilīya* and the methods calculated to be successful in the efforts to win them over have also been suggested.

D. To collect certain items of information in connection with the maintenance of statistics required for keeping the census records and the land records up to date. The details about the census operations and the cadastral survey have been described elsewhere.[3] Suffice it to say that the information collected by the spies in disguises was meant first to

1 *K.*, I, chs. 13, 14, 2 *K.*, I, ch. 14.

3 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 106-114; See also *K.*, chs. 35, 36.

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check the correctness of that collected by the *Sthānikas* and *Gopas* under the immediate supervision of the *Pradeṣṭṛs* and the final direction of the *Samāhartṛ*. Secondly, certain additional items of inquiry were entrusted to the spies exclusively, and these items supplemented the information embodied in the records by the previous means. These operations covered the towns as well as villages.

E. To prevent spies deputed by other States from carrying on their work within the dominion, and to cause their arrest.[1] It is found from the traditional daily routine of the king's duties[2] that three periods are set apart for attention to work in connection with the department of espionage viz. a portion of the time 12 to 1-30 P.M. is devoted to understanding the secret reports from spies written in cryptic characters,[3] 6 to 7 P.M. to interview with the spies (gūḍhapuruṣas), and a portion of the period from 3 A.M. to 4-30 A.M to sending out spies on their errands. It is evident therefore that the king came into direct contact with the spies and set them to their secret works himself, watching from day to day the progress made by them. But the work of the espionage department is so vast that it is not possible for the king to accomplish the whole of it unaided. The assistance of the *mantrin* and *purohita* is mentioned[4] in connection with the testing of the officials described already. The *Samāhartṛ* was entrusted with the power to direct the spies employed for helping up the census operations and cadastral survey. The *Nāgaraka* was authorized to direct the spies for similar works within the town. The *Samāhartṛ* had also to set the spies on the Adhyakṣas (heads of depart-

1 *K.*, I, ch. 12.

2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 19.

3 Cāraguhyabodhanīyāni ca budhyeta.—*K.*, I, ch. 12. Cf. Saṃjñālipi used for sending messages to the espionage bureau. *K.*, I, ch. 12.

4 'Mantripurohitasakah.....saucayet'.—*K.*, I, ch. 10.

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ments) to ascertain their honesty.[1] The *Samāhartṛ* was entrusted with the maintenance of discipline in all the departments as indicated by Book IV, ch. 9 (*Sarvādhikaraṇarakṣaṇam*). In this chapter various departments and their heads have been expressly mentioned. Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri in his commentary on a passage in *K.*, I, ch. 12, p. 20 (re. the stationing of spies to watch the 18 *tirthas*) states that the *Sañcāras* were directed by the king himself, because only the term 'rājā' has been used in it without any reference to assistance from any of his officials, while the *Saṃsthas* were set in motion by the king aided by the officials. This cannot, I think, be made a basis of difference between the two sets of spies, for a reference to the multifarious works that they had to do both in times of peace and war will show that the issuing of instructions from the king alone and the supervision of the results of their labours could not possibly be effected by one man without imparing or ruining efficiency. Moreover, the mention of the term 'rājā' only in the passage referred to does not conclusively indicate that assistance from the officials has been meant to be excluded. Book IV, ch. 9, in which the Samāhartṛ has been mentioned as the authority who possesses delegation of power to check the actions of the heads of the various departments and their subordinates ends with the śloka:

evam arthacarān pūrvaṃ rājā daṇḍena śodhayet,
śodhayeyuś ca śuddhās te paurajānapadān damaiḥ.

Here 'rājā' has been mentioned as correcting the officials, though the actual work is being done by the Samāhartṛ and his assistants. Hence, the reference to the king alone does not imply that he has to do

1 Evaṃ samāhartṛpradiṣṭās tāpasavyañjanāḥ karṣakagorakṣavaidehakānām adhyakṣāṇāṃ ca śaucāśaucaṃ vidyuḥ.—*K.*, II, ch. 35, p. 143. T. Ganapati Sastri takes 'adhyakṣāṇām' to mean 'gopādināṃ' which is inconsistent. The heads of departments are meant. The reasons have been given above.

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the work personally, and that what he does not do himself cannot be described as being done by him in a general statement. Hence, though it is mentioned as the king's duty to send spies to watch the eighteen *tīrthas* (includiug the heads of departments), it is not inconsistent if the *Samāhartṛ* is regarded as entrusted with the authority to depute the *sañcāras* (secret agents) for the purpose. The *Samāhartṛ* actually directs the *Satrins* (a class of secret agents) as indicated in Book IV, ch. 4. A glance at the numerous ramifications of the activities of the spies will show what a large field had to be covered by their operations specially in times of war. Sometimes, as for instance during the siege of a fortress, both the secret informants and the secret agents had to be given prompt directions and this could have been done only by men on the spot and not by the king who may be at a place far distant from the field of action.

An idea of the nature of the works that the spies were expected to do can be had from a short account of same in the various fields of action within and outside the State during peace and war. This account is, of course, meant to supplement what has been already said about their duties.

To bring offenders within the clutches of justice, spies (satrins, etc.) were employed in the villages as well as in the government departments for the detection of enemies. The offenders are said to be of thirteen kinds, though only a few classes are mentioned, such as makers of counterfeit coins, people lowering the quality of gold by mixing alloy with same and trying to pass it off as pure gold, persons agreeing to give false evidence, administrators of justice taking illegal gratifications, persons administering poison, and so forth.[1] Spies pretending to have supernatural powers asso-

Spies in connection with the law courts.

1 *K.*, IV, 4 (gūḍhājīvināṃ rakṣā).

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ciate with the suspected persons such as adulterers and robbers and have them brought to book while ostensively helping to carrying out their criminal intentions.[1] For the detection of persons suspected to have committed crimes, persons of the same character, harlots, persons with a persuasive tongue, story-tellers, and inn-keepers are employed to watch them and elicit information.[2]

Spies in connection with the *Yogavṛttam.*

Extremely severe steps were taken in secret against the persons or officials hostile to the king personally or to both the king and the kingdom. The secret agents killed, or brought about the death of these people in situations created by their wire-pulling from a distance. The brother of a seditious official, for instance, may be incited by a *Satrin* to put forward his claim for inheritance and have the property from him. The claimant may lie at the door of the house or elsewhere when a *Tīkṣṇa* may murder him and cry out 'Alas,[3] the claimant for inheritance has been murdered by his brother.' Thus the recalcitrant brother may be implicated in a murder case and punished.[4] A spy may, as a physician, undertake to cure a seditious person, who may be made to believe that the illness from which he is suffering is likely to be fatal, and put him to death by poisoning him through medicines and diet.[5] The measures suggested in the chapter *Koṣābhisaṃharaṇa* for the replenishment of the Government treasury in times of financial difficulties are of several kinds, viz., (1) the realization of larger amounts in the shape of Government dues from the cultivators, tradesmen, and herdsmen. The raising of demands by the State may in some cases be accompanied with the giving of facilities by the king, e.g., the supply of grain and cattle to those that

1 *K.*, IV, 5 (siddhavyañjanairmāṇavaprakāśanam).
2 *K.*, IV, 6.
3 See *K.*, V, ch. 1 for the various examples.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*

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colonize waste lands; (2) the collection of donations from citizens stimulating, through spies posing as donors, their desire to surpass one another in the amounts paid by them; honours were also conferred by the king upon the donors; (3) the realization of sums from the people through spies playing upon the religious credulity or superstitions of the people; (4) the pooling of the properties belonging to the deities in the towns and the countryside under the management of the *devatādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Temples) and the utilization of same, and (5) the cheating and even murdering of the seditious and the wicked through spies, and the appropriation of the properties thus acquired. The examples are numerous. One may be cited here: A spy in the guise of a tradesman becomes the partner of a rich trader. As soon as a large sum of money is to hand from the sale-proceeds, deposits etc. he causes himself to be robbed of same. That the consequences of these measures might, when misapplied, prove ruinous to the king himself was realized, and hence a warning has been given that they should in no case be applied to people other than the wicked and the seditious (*evaṃ dūṣyeṣv adhārmikeṣu ca varteta netareṣu*).[1]

Spies disguised as traders might sell on credit articles (belonging to the State) for use by the military men going out on a military tour on condition that when they return they will have to pay double the quantity borrowed. Thus the king is likely to receive back a large portion of what he pays as wages to the soldiers.

Spies in connection with the 'six courses of action' (ṣāḍguṇya).

A detailed knowledge of the neighbouring States (within the *maṇḍala*) of a king was necessary to enable him to carry on negotiations with one or more of them regarding particular transactions without being circumvented. A satisfactory conclusion of a *bhūmisandhi* (agreement for acquisition of land) or *mitrasandhi* (acquisition of an ally) in a

1 *K.*, V, ch. 2 (Kośābhisaṃharaṇa).

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saṃhitaprayāṇa (combined expedition) requires a thorough knowledge of the objects from among which to choose viz., lands or allies.[1] An estimate of the strength of a State (by a king or his mantrin) in comparison with any other State or States with which it may have to come into conflict, presupposes, according to the process prescribed in the *Kauṭilīya*, a detailed knowledge of the merits and demerits of each of the seven elements of sovereignty.[2] To remain equipped with such information at all times requires an agency through which it can be had regularly,and this agency is none other than the system of espionage carried on in the neighbouring states, to which reference has already been made. Of course, the envoy, or the personal knowledge of the king and the mantrin could have supplemented this means of collecting information.

The services of spies (*ubhayavetana*) were utilized in efforts to cause a split in the combination of several kings against one.[3] The assistance of spies in various disguises has been mentioned as necessary for a prince kept as a hostage for effecting his escape from the custody of a Daṇḍopanāyin king.[4]

The means suggested for removing difficulties in the rear of a king while he is thinking of marching against an enemy involve the use of the services of *satrins* for causing dissensions among the people, causing troubles in the rear or doing away with them by violent methods.[5] To avert dangers arising from enemies outside the State combining with one another or carrying on concerted action against the king with the local people, and from a few people of a place within the State combining with others in another part of same, the assistance of *satrins* and *tīkṣṇas* resorting at times to violent means is requisitioned.[6]

The services of spies in connection with the *abhiyāsyatkarma* (the duties of an invader).

1 & 2 See *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India.*

3 *K.*, VII, ch. 14.

4 *Ibid.*, VII, ch. 17.

5 *Ibid.*, IX, ch. 3.

6 *Ibid.*, IX, chs. 5 and 6.

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When a war is about to take place or is continuing, the spies (*satrins*) in company with astrologers and others declare with the object of infusing greater enthusiasm into the minds of the soldiers that their operations will be successful and those of the enemy will be a failure.[1] Spies were also employed to harass the enemy by setting fire to camps, by communicating to the enemy through envoys who are really secret agents such false information as the revolt of a section of his subjects in his dominion by inciting the seditious subjects of the enemy into active hostilities towards him, and so forth.[2]

The work of spies during a war.

When a very powerful king attacks a weak one in spite of the latter's offer of *sandhi* on terms not accepted by the former, recourse is had by the latter to all sorts of secret means, fair or foul. The king has to depend in a large measure for the execution of these means upon the secret agents. The delineation of these methods forms the subject-matter of the five chapters in Book XII (*ābalīyasa*) of the *Kauṭilīya*. They involve a profuse use of acts of violence committed by the spies. Attempts are made to take full advantage of the weaknesses of the inimical king and his officials. When they come within the meshes of various kinds cast by the secret agents, they are made away with, or brought under control. One or two typical examples will give a clear idea of the nature of the steps taken : The leaders of the enemy's army may be tempted by women sent to them for the purpose, and in their attempts to have them, they quarrel with one another. Those defeated in the achievement of their object are persuaded to leave their opponents and turn over to the side of the king whose spies have brought about the quarrel.[3] Instances of the murder of army officers and partisans of the inimical king, the alienation of officials and sub-

The averting of dangers from a very powerful king through measures carried out largely by the spies.

1 *K.*, ch. 3. 2 *Ibid.*, ch. 6. 3 *Ibid.*, XII, ch. 2.

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jects from him through bribes and honours, and the persuasion of the enemy's rear-enemy (*pārṣṇigrāha*) to attack the former are given in Book XII, ch. 3. Some measures involving an extensive use of fire and poison in various covert ways are described in the next chapter of the *Kauṭilīya*. All these examples are only suggestive, as action has to be taken according to the circumstances of the moment. Breaches and obstructions in the means of communication and transport at the disposal of the enemy are a principal objective of the secret workers who also try to slay the king by various contrivances or in critical situations. The next chapter (*K.*, XII, 5) describes how the king can be surreptitiously injured, killed, or captured in places where he may come for worship or other works. The remaining measures, like those in the aforesaid chapter, are of a miscellaneous nature involving the use of fire and poison, and intended to injure the enemy in his own camp or palace.

Though Book XII of the *Kauṭilīya* treats of the steps that may be taken by a weak king against a powerful one, many of those suggested in the next book (XIII) dealing with the means of capturing a fortress can obviously be used by the weak king against his powerful opponent and therefore have been recommended for use. There are a few other references in the XIIth Book to chapters in other parts of the treatise, from which it is clear that though the Book suggests a few means for the defence of his person and kingdom by a weak king, those mentioned elsewhere in the work are meant also to be applied by him, if required.

The work of the secret enemies in connection with the capture of a fortress (*durgalambhopāya*).

The first chapter of the XIIIth Book speaks of the kind of propaganda referred to already in several connexions, viz., the alienation of the people in the enemy's territory by various means through spies in various disguises. The deceptive contrivances similar to those mentioned above for deluding the king and capturing or killing him are delineated in the second chapter

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of this Book. A distinctive feature of many of them lies in a greater admixture of rites and dodges that can work upon the religious beliefs, and superstitions of the people. In the next chapter (XIII, 4—*apasarpapraṇidhi*) are suggested means in which the spies try to win the good graces of the inimical king, and if these be successful, they take advantage of their favourable position and do him harm in various ways, causing him physical injury to the extent of slaying him. The enemies of the enemy may be persuaded to cause him losses while the allies of the enemy may also be induced to betray him at critical moments. Spies may manage to harbour themselves within the fort of the enemy and help an attack made on the fort by assisting the invaders from within and creating confusion in the army of the King. Several illustrations have also been given for carrying away cattle etc. from the enemy's territory. The assistance of the secret agents is also utilized during the siege of a fort or the actual storming of same. Spies residing within the besieged fort may tie packets of inflammable powder to the tails of monkeys, mungooses etc. and set them at large by setting the powder aflame. This means is resorted to in extreme cases, as a burnt fort would prove to be an acquisition of doubtful value to the invader if successful. Spies disguised as friends and relatives of the besieged and provided with passports may enter the enemy's fort and help in its surrender. The enemy may be made to believe a pretending ally who sends him a deceitful message that he is marching to strike the besieging party to help him. When the enemy comes out of the fort to witness the tumult caused ostensibly by the attack upon the besieging army, he may be slain.

Book XIV, ch. 1 suggests very drastic measures against the wicked (*adhārmika*) for the preservation of the four castes against which they committed offences. Fire and poison are used through spies for causing their death or ruin.

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The enlisting of the active sympathy of the democracies in times of need was regarded by a king as important for the furtherance of his interest, and the alienation of their sympathies from the side of his enemy was regarded as equally important. The secret attempts to cause dissensions among the leaders of a democratic State siding with the enemy in spite of the endeavours of a king to keep it on his side, or to kill the obstructionists among them by secret means are only corollaries from the angle of vision from which the help obtainable from a democracy was viewed. Democracies, like that of the Licchavis, were very powerful in those days, consisting, as they did, of members of military tribes with a thorough military training. The help of such a State in a war waged by a king with another went far to determine its fate and hence the treatment of the subject of the *Saṅghas* has been allotted a separate Book, small though it be. The lines which the actions of the spies are to follow are similar to those already indicated in connection with the causing of dissensions among the subjects and officials of a State. The rousing of anger, jealousy and such other passions in the minds of the persons who are to be divided among themselves is caused by the secret agents. They also put objects of temptation in their way in order that they might yield to the proposals made to them. If they did not, they were made away with at unguarded moments. The acts of violence including the use of fire and poison are recommended to be committed secretly by the agents in a manner similar to that already pointed out.[1]

The work of the spies in connection with the democracies (*saṅghas*).

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

1 *K.*, XI

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A three-headed statue of Yamāri from the District of Dacca

Among the collection of the Pāla sculptures of East Bengal, exhibited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, there is an image (30″×13″) of considerable iconographical interest, shown in the accompanying plate. It comes from Paścimpārā in the district of Dacca and represents, as will be seen, a dwarfish, pot-bellied, three-headed deity, with a frowning look, beard and whiskers, hair standing out in curls like flames, open lips, prominent teeth, and stepping to the spectator's right in the archer pose (*pratyālīḍha-pada*), trampling under each foot, a corpse, lying on the back, on a full-blown lotus. He wears a belted skin and the usual jewellery. Further distinct features of his adornment are: a figurine of the celestial (*Dhyānī*) Buddha Akṣobhya on the crown, ornaments of snakes, one passing over the left shoulder like a sacred thread (*Yajña-sūtra*), the rest coiling round the ankles and the armpits, and a long garland composed of human skulls, falling to the knees. Between his legs is a small figure of a worshipper with clasped hands.

In the Museum it is marked as No. $\frac{A\,(a)\,4}{124}$ and described in the *Catalogue* as a four-handed figure.[1] On a more careful observation, it will be noticed that it originally possessed three hands on each side. Of the right hands, the uppermost one carries a battered sword, the next lower exhibits the *tarjanī mudrā* and also a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the third hand and its attribute are broken. Of the left hands only one is intact, which holds a skull-cap (*kapāla*).

1 R. G. Basak and D. C. Bhattacharya, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 4.

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In the *Catalogue* referred to, it is suggested that the image represents the Bodhisattva Trailokya-bhasmaṅkara (?) (Trailokya-vaśaṅkara), one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara. The *Sādhanas* of Trailokya-vaśaṅkara describe him as "one-faced, two-armed, three-eyed, who has the crown of chignon over head, carries in his two hands, the noose and goad stamped with the *vajra*, who is seated on the red lotus in the *Vajra-paryaṅka* attitude and is decked in celestial garments and ornaments."[1] As the above description does not apply to the image under consideration, the proposed identification appears improbable.

On the contrary, the cognitive traits of the image are sufficiently clear for recognising it as a figure of Yamāri or Yamāntaka. Representations of this god, according to the *Sādhanas*,[2] are characterised by a dwarfish (*kharva*) stature, disproportionately large head or heads (*vikṛtānana*), corpulent belly (*mahodara*), scowling brows (*bhṛkuṭī-lalāṭa*), "canine fangs" (*daṃṣṭrā-karālina*), uprising hair (*ūrddhva-jvalat-keśa*), beard and whiskers (*bhrū-śmaśru-jāla-kapilī-kṛta-vaktrapadma*), archer pose (*pratyālīḍha-pada*), an effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown (*Akṣobhya-mukuṭina*) and ornament of snakes (*nāgābharaṇa-vibhūṣaṇa*).

In accordance with the object of the worshipper the image of Yamāri differs in form and colour. In some of the forms, he is figured in embrace with his consort Prajñā, in some he appears also without her. The colour of his body may be red, black, yellow or white.[3] The red Yamāri (Rakta-Yamāri), one-headed, two armed, bearing a skull-cap (*kapāla*) in the left hand and a "white staff surmounted by a yellow head still wet with blood" (*sārdra-pīta-muṇḍ-āṅkita-*

1 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 45.

2 Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, (G.O.S.), pp. 528-558.

3 *"Rakta-kṛṣṇa-pīta-sita-varṇam karmmānurūpato dhyeyam"*—*Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 532.

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Yamari

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sita daṇḍa)[1] in the right, is accompanied by Prajñā. The dark Yamāri (Kṛṣṇa Yamāri) is of four varieties: (a) one-faced and two armed, (b) three-faced and four-armed, (c) six-faced and six-armed, and (d) three-faced and six-armed.[2] The present specimen is of the last mentioned type. The *dhyāna* describing this form is quoted below:

"Yamāntakam = ātmānam vicintayet kṛṣṇaṃ trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujaṃ, kvacit ṣaṇmukhaṃ ṣaṭcaraṇaṃ ca, daṃṣṭrā-karāla-vadanam = ārakta-nayanaṃ cakra-khaḍga-mūṣala-dhara-dakṣiṇa-bhuja-trayaṃ vettālī-paraśu-pāśa-dhāri-vāma-bhuja-trayaṃ, khaḍga-mudgara-vajra-dhara-dakṣiṇa-karaṃ vāme ghaṇṭā-vajra-pāśā-mūṣalāni kvacit, ūrddhva-piṅgala-keśa-muṇḍa-mālāvibhūṣita-maulinam = aṣṭa-nāgendra-viracit = ābharaṇaṃ Akṣobhya-mukuṭinaṃ viśva-dala-kamal = opari Sūryya-maṇḍale pratyālī-ḍha-pada-sthitam...."[3]

"The worshipper should conceive himself as Yamāntaka, dark, three-faced, six-armed, sometimes six-faced and six-armed, with fearful tusks in the mouth, reddish eyes, bearing discus, chopper and mace in the three right hands and goblin, axe and noose in the three left hands, or chopper, mace and thunder-bolt in the three right hands and bell, thunder-bolt with noose, and club in the three left hands, with brown hair standing on end, with his head adorned by a garland of skulls, with eight serpents as his ornaments, a figure of Akṣobhya on the crown, standing in the archer pose, in the orb of the Sun on a double-lotus...."

The emblems of the god as stated in the *Sādhana*, quoted above, are not, however, exactly the same as seen in the present case. They differ in at least two, *viz.*, the *tarjanī mudrā* in one of the right hands and the skull-cap in the lowermost left. The *Sādhanas* make no mention of the *tarjanī mudrā* as an attribute of Yamāri of this variety; it is only

1 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 70.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
3 Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 554.

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referred to in respect of the forms (*a*) and (*c*),[1] mentioned above. The skull-cap is an attribute of Rakta-Yamāri,[2] and never ascribed by the *Sādhanas* to Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri. It occurs, however, in a similar representation of Yamāntaka from Nālandā which is mounted on a buffalo, the carrier of the god.[3] None of the *Sādhanas* describes him as trampling on corpses under the feet, as he appears in the present example. This special feature thus distinguishes it as a singular specimen, and the type is indeed of no small importance, considering the rarity of these images in India.

Getty draws a line between the forms 'Yamāntaka' and 'Yamāri' according as the god appears with or without his consort and describes the latter as treading on a corpse under which is a bull.[4] The corpse and the bull, referred to, are met with in a reverse order in an image in the possession of Pandit Siddhi Harṣa Vajrācāryya of Nepal.[5]

Regarding the origin of Yamāntaka, a Tibetan tradition attributes this form to Mañjuśrī, who, it is said, assumed it to destroy the demon king of Death, Yama, who was depopulating Tibet in his insatiable thirst for victims. About this story the *Sādhanamālā* remains silent. It states that the form of Yamāntaka is derived from the true meaning of his own *mantra* (*sva-mantrārtha-śarīra-bhāk*). He confers success on his worshippers and his outwardly terrific appearance is meant for the good of created beings. Other names of this deity are Śrī Vajra-bhairava, Vajra-bhayaṅkara, Vajrabhairava, and Bhairava.

The origin of the Yamāri cult is associated, no doubt, with a later phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Vajrayāna. Worship was paid to him purely in connection with Tāntric rites, such as, *puṣṭi* (causing one's prosperity), *śānti* (alleviа-

1 *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, pp. 547, 557.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 528-541.
3 *Annual Report, ASI., Central circle*, 1920-21, pt. I, p. 39.
4 Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 146.
5 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 71, pl. xxvi (a).

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tion of evil), *ākṛṣṭi* (attracting persons to the presence of the worshipper), *moha* (causing one's confusion), *vaśya* (bringing a person under power), *stambha* (arresting one's motion), *preraṇa* (inducing a person to do a particular act), *nigraha* (punishing an enemy), *uccāṭana*[1] (causing a person to quit his occupation). Some idea of the nature of these rites may be given in this connection. To alleviate an evil influence directions are given as follows: take a strip of white cloth or a birch-bark or a washed cloth, draw two circles on it, then put it in a clean saucer and dip it in *ghee* (clarified butter) and honey. Enclose it with a white string and offer worship to it with white flowers three consecutive evenings. Next have the mind fixed on white Yamāntaka, who faces the east, and think on the person seeking relief, as sitting in front of the god within the orb of the moon and bathing him with the nectar of the moon falling from a white pitcher. Then utter the *mantra* as given under: *Oṃ Hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana devadattasya śāntiṃ kuru namaḥ svāhā.* For causing one's prosperity (*puṣṭi*) the mode of worship is almost the same, but differs in the following details: the colour of Yamāntaka should be yellow, he should face the north, the circles are to be drawn on saffron, the string and the flowers are to be yellow; the orb, the pitcher and the nectar must also be imagined as such. In *vaśyavidhi*, the accessaries referred to, and the colour of the god are red, and he should face the west. The worship of the dark Yamāri (kṛiṣṇa-yamāri) is prescribed only for drawing a person to the presence of the worshipper. He should face the south; the accessaries to the worship should be red, and the strip of cloth on which the circles are drawn, is to be placed within the skull of a dead woman instead of a saucer.[2]

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1 *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 532.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 532-34.

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Vedānta and the Vedāntist

II

From the accounts that have been preserved of the kind of education that was usually imparted to young princes and persons of rank in cities (e.g. in the *Kādaṃbarī* of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa), it appears that *Brahma-vidyā* was not much favoured by the city people. The curriculum of studies included dancing, singing, physical exercise, knowledge of languages, but not *Brahmavidyā*, at least there is no special mention of it.

In the Upaniṣads, women also are sometimes seen taking part in philosophical discussions (Bṛ. ii. 4 ; iii. 6) and aspiring to become a *Brahma-vādinī*, i.e. pursue the study of *Brahma-vidyā* as the sole occupation of life. Such was Vācaknavī (see Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra*, iii. 4. 36). But still the part that women really played was that of listeners and not teachers of *Brahma-vidyā* and this also was denied to them in later times. The *vidyā* gradually passed into the hands of *sannyāsins* ; and the place of discourse was transferred from the hearths of worldly men to the cloisters of monks. Women were gradually considered inadmissible to the study of the Vedic lore, and so also to the study of *Brahma-vidyā*.

We conclude, then, that in Upaniṣadic times the Vedāntist was a *gṛhastha* brahmin, generally leading a life of retirement, and that women had very little share in the development of Vedānta.

In Vedānta-Sūtras i. 3.25-38, there is a long discussion as to persons entitled to study *Brahma-vidyā*. There is no difference of opinion among the commentators in respect of the interpretation of these Sūtras ; and the conclusion arrived at is that, *above* men the gods are entitled to the study, and *among* men only the upper three classes. The Śūdras, are rigorously excluded, but members of the other

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castes could study *Brahma-vidyā* without any restriction of *āśrama* or age.

The sūtra iii. 4 raises the question : Is the *vidyā* capable by itself of giving the desired result, viz., *Mokṣa* ? Or, should it be accompanied by the practice of Vedic *karma* ? The answer given is, that *Vidyā* is capable of producing that result by itself (iii. 4. 1 ; iii. 4. 17.). But for the production of this *vidyā*, the duties of the various *āśramas* must be practised (iii. 4. 26), and one cannot hope to attain the *vidyā* straightway by the adoption of the last *āśrama*. Once the *vidyā* is produced, it leads to *mokṣa* without any *further* aid from *karma*.

This need for *karma* is again maintained in sūtra, iv. 1. 15-16. It is a part of the Vedāntic theory that once true knowledge is attained, *karma* is demolished. But it is not *all karma* that can be destroyed in this way : only the *karma*, that is awaiting its result, can be got rid of in this way. The *karma*, which is already bearing its fruit, must run its course. And, therefore, so far as we have to remain in a body, actions (*karma*) necessary for keeping the body pure and for generating knowledge, must continue to be practised, such as *Agnihotra* (iv. 1. 16).[1]

The author of the Sūtras obviously affirms the utility of *karma* and of the various *āśramas* as a preliminary to the attainment of knowledge (Sūtras, iii, 4. 26 ; iv. 1. 16), but at the same time, he implies that the knowledge or *vidyā* cannot be attained in the true sense of the term, until one has adopted the last *āśrama* (Sūtras, iii. 4. 17 ; iii.4. 25).

Reading all these sūtras together, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that *Brahma-vidyā* was cultivated and practised as the means to salvation by those who had by gradual stages reached the last two stages (*āśramas*)

1 Cf. Bṛ. Up., iv. 4. 22, where it is said that those, who desire to know Brahma, practise *yajñas*, etc. among other things. These duties, therefore, should be performed.

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of life. This was the orthodox view, and the Sūtras do not appear to have advocated any other.

What is promulgated in the Sūtras must have been practised also by those who adopted this moderate view. Perhaps not much historical evidence is available on this point, but, it seems, much is not necessary either. For, just as a law implies the existence of those who follow it, though breakers of the law also are not impossible, similarly, there must have been men who actually followed in life the philosophico-religious tenets of the Vedānta; the very existence of these doctrines implies the parallel existence of men for whom they were rules of life. The position has been maintained by such a long roll of writers that it is impossible to think that none of them followed them in actual life. They were not mere theories; they were intended as rules of conduct and were followed as such.

When we say that, according to the author of the Sūtras, *Brahma-vidyā* was to be pursued in the last *āśrama*, we only mean that it was to be *practised* then as the means for *mokṣa*; attempts for the acquisition of the knowledge began in the first *āśrama*.

There is no indication in the Sūtras as to the place of residence that a Vedāntist should adopt. According to the traditional view, when a man renounced the second *āśrama*, he was also to renounce the ordinary habitations of men and retire to solitude. The Sūtras do not lay down any specific rule on the point; and this may be understood as implying acceptance of the traditional view.

As to sex also, nothing is definitely said in the Sūtras. The question about woman's right in the pursuit of the *Śrutis* seems to have been decided already against her; and for the author of the Sūtras, it was already a settled fact (see *ante* p. 646.).

The value of *sannyāsa* or renunciation of the world, is not unrecognized in the Sūtras; but it is not given undue importance. A rather extreme view, however, finds expression

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in Śaṅkara's system. In explaining the Sūtras referred to above, Śaṅkara cannot deny the utility of *karma* altogether; but he is inclined to pin his faith on Jābāla Upaniṣad, 4, which allows a man to adopt the fourth *āśrama* at any stage of life, provided of course, he has ceased to feel any interest in the affairs of life. The text is :

"*Yad-ahar-eva virajet tad-ahar-eva pravrajet*".

Taking his stand on this text, Śaṅkara suggests that the duties of the intermediate *āśramas* are not *binding* : they may be followed, but, given the necessary mental and spiritual equipment, they may be avoided also ; and according to him there is a greater merit in being able to renounce them. According to the commentators (cf. Śrīnivāsa, Rāmānuja, etc.), this text was overlooked by the author of the Sūtras (see under Sūtra, iii, 4, 20). Rāmānuja says that the Sūtras discuss the question of *āśramas, ignoring* ('*asantam-iva kṛtvā*') the text of Jābāla, 4. Śaṅkara also says the same thing. But the truth perhaps was that this text did not represent the orthodox view at the time of the author of the Sūtras, if the text was in existence at that time at all.

In his comment on Sūtra, i, 1. 1, Śaṅkara says : "*Niḥśreyasa-phalam tu brahma-vijñānaṃ na cānuṣṭhānāntarāpekṣam*". That is to say, knowledge of Brahma is not dependent on the performance of the religious rites, in order that it may bring about final beatitude. But this uncompromising position is partially relinquished by him in his comment on iii, 4. 26, where he admits that for the *production* of the *vidyā*, practice of the religious duties is necessary.

In his comment on Bṛ. Up. ii. 4 Śaṅkara is more outspoken in his denunciation of *karma* and of the *gṛhastha āśrama*. There he says that *karma* and *jñāna* are diametrically opposed to each other ; one is not necessary for the other ; and that those who think that *karma* is helpful to *jñāna* have not read the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (*tair-bṛhadāraṇyakam na śrutam*); they have not understood the contrast between *karma* and *jñāna* which Śruti has repeatedly shown ;

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and they have not understood Vyāsa's teaching and so on. Hence it follows that, personally, Śaṅkara did not consider it necessary for a man to perform the duties belonging to all the different *āśramas* in order that, later in life, he might become a Vedāntist. The true requirements of a Vedāntist, according to him, were self-restraint, tranquility, etc., and a desire to know the truth and be liberated. (cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Vedānta*, Eng. Tr., pp. 79-82).

Disciples of Śaṅkara took up the question in a more combative spirit and strove to show that those who desired *mokṣa* had no need for *karma*; it would on the contrary at best be a hindrance to the realisation of their purpose. This positive denial of the utility of *karma* is tantamount to the denial of the *gṛhastha āśrama*; it was an advocacy of *sannyāsa* as early as possible. We may remember in this connection the well-known treatise of Sureśvara, viz., his '*Naiṣkarma-siddhi*'. Sureśvara makes an elaborate attempt there to show that *karma* can never lead to *mokṣa* which can be attained by *jñāna*, and *jñāna* alone. There is no Śruti, he contends, nor any logic which makes *mokṣa* dependent on *karma* in any way.

In an extreme form, this view went to the length of denying not only the *āśramas* but the *varṇas* or castes as well. True knowledge, it would be contended, not only revealed that the *āśramas* were useless, but the difference of caste also was meaningless for one who had attained the truth. For, these differences were valid only with reference to the body and did not apply to the soul; and a true philosophy should know that the body was not the self.

This *sannyāsa* cult came to have such a hold on the mind of a certain section of the population that the study of the different orders of *sannyāsins* itself assumed the importance of a science. Thus the author of the *Ratna-prabhā*, a commentary on the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, under Sūtra, iii. 4. 18 gives an elaborate classification of the various kinds of *vānaprasthas*, *sannyāsins*, and followers of other *āśramas*.

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A similar classification is given by other writers also, and is assumed even by the authors of the Dharma-śāstras (cf. *Manu*, vi).

It was not only a theory but the practice also among many, especially in later times, to become a *sannyāsin* in early life and take to the study of Vedānta. We may recollect here that this was not strictly in accordance with the general practice in earlier times nor has it the sanction of the generality of Śruti and Smṛti texts. The one that is very frequently quoted by Śaṅkara, is the text of the Jābāla Upaniṣad referred to above, which permits renunciation of the world at any stage of life. But even this text does not overlook the other *āśramas*; and it, too, says that the usual course is to go through all the *āśramas* and reach the last *after* the rest. It only *allows*, perhaps as a special case, the adoption of the last *āśrama* at any time in life, by those who feel no interest in the world. But it is not intended as a compulsory rule.

But whether sanctioned by Śāstras or not, the practice came into vogue and there was a class of *sannyāsins* who had not been *gṛhasthas* before; and the study of Vedānta was eagerly pursued by them. The Vedānta-Sūtras do not appear to have contemplated this class of *sannyāsins*, but it grew; and from Śaṅkara's time downwards, almost without exception, all the great writers on the Vedānta were *parivrājakas* (e.g. Sarvajñātma, Prakāśātma, Vidyāraṇya, Ānandagiri, etc.). We do not know much of the biography of these men and cannot say definitely that they had not been *gṛhasthas* before and adopted the fourth *āśrama* in the usual course: some certainly were *gṛhasthas*, e.g. Sureśvara, whose name in the earlier *āśrama* was Maṇḍana Miśra. But in the Śaṅkara school at any rate, the tendency was to avoid the *gṛhastha āśrama*. Possibly they were led to this by their doctrine of the unreality of the world. And even now, we have hundreds of *sannyāsins* in India who never become house-holders.

There were *sannyāsins* of other schools besides that

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of Śaṅkara; and quite a number of them were Vedāntists. In fact, the Vedānta continued to be the favourite study of *sannyāsins* of most of the orders. The study has never been prohibited for a *gṛhastha*; but it did not find so much favour with him as with a *sannyāsin*. The reason for this is not far to seek. *Sannyāsins* have professedly no interest in the world; they only wait for liberation and have nothing else to do but prepare themselves for final emancipation. They are candidates for *mokṣa* and for *mokṣa* alone; and the Vedānta is *par excellence* the *mokṣa-śāstra*, i.e., the study which was regarded as best suited for the attainment of salvation.

We may recollect in this connection the Hindu conception of *Caturvarga*—the fourfold desideratum of man. According to this, a man, we are told, needs and desires but four things, viz., *dharma* (piety), *artha* (wealth and power), *kāma* (satisfaction of desires) and *mokṣa* (liberation). All that man desires and strives for may eventually be grouped under one or other of these four classes. Now, corresponding to these, there have arisen four classes of *śāstras* also.

However, this fourfold analysis of the highest good of man, must not be understood as corresponding to the division of *āśramas*; it is not true, for instance, that the first of these four, viz., *dharma*, is to be striven for in the first *āśrama*, the second in the second, and so on. But yet according to the orthodox theory and practice, the last or *mokṣa*, was to be sought for in the last stage. This is proved, as we have seen, by the discussion in the Vedānta Sūtras, iii. 4. And those who made *mokṣa* their only concern in life, took to the study of this *śāstra* as early in life as possible. They, too, were *sannyāsins*. The Vedānta was thus a special study of the *sannyāsins*, at least, from the time of the Sūtras.

Though the writers on *Kāma-śāstra* and *Artha-śāstra* claim equality with the *Dharma* and *Mokṣa śāstras*, on the ground that they too minister to objects considered as desir-

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able as *dharma* and *mokṣa*, yet in fact their *śāstras* found favour only with a section of the population, mostly in towns. The classes who cultivated these *śāstras*, had hardly the training or the inclination to take to the study of the Vedānta. The class that studied the Vedānta was thus more or less sharply separated from the class which pursued the aims of the *Kāma-* and *Artha-śāstras*. The Vedāntists were, in the first place, men living away from the cities, and, in the second place, they were men who had lost interest in any other concern of life except *mokṣa*. According to the moderate view of the Sūtras, these were to have had a previous experience of life in the world: according to the extreme view of Śaṅkara, they were to have renounced the world as early as possible: and according to both, the man who was really fit to be called to the study of the Vedānta, was, after all, a *sannyāsin*. There is nothing in the scriptures precluding a *gṛhastha* from reading and understanding the Vedānta: on the contrary, like other knowledge, this knowledge also presumably was to be acquired in the prime of life, i.e., while one was still a *Brahmacārin*. But what the Sūtras, relying on texts of the Upaniṣads and on ancient practices, really want to say, is that true pursuit of *Brahmavidyā*—its practice as distinguished from mere understanding—cannot properly begin until one has reached the last *āśrama*, or a state of life corresponding to it.

During the age of the Sūtras, the Vedānta does not appear yet to have been completely divorced from the householder's life. An increasing stress was no doubt being placed on the renunciation of the world as a condition for the proper pursuit of *mokṣa-vidyā*; but the acquisition and propagation of the learning was still in the hands of the *gṛhasthas*; only, they were to practise this *vidyā* after they had reached the maturity of old age and the sanctity of renunciation.

In the next stage, however, we find the *vidyā* more or less in exclusive possession of men who had renounced the

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world: they are the teachers and they are the learners, and the greatest writers arise among them. And unlike the earlier teachers living in homely villages, these men soon establish themselves in great *maṭhas* (monasteries)—some of them quite stately buildings—located very often in *tīrthas* (sacred places).[1]

This change must have been due to important social and political circumstances. A general decadence of morals in large cities and among wealthy classes, must have accentuated the growth of *Sannyāsin* orders and dislodged *Brahma-vidyā* from its original home and driven it into the arms of organised monastic orders having stable habitations of their own, i.e., *cenobite* monks as distinguished from mere *anchorites*. A similar phenomenon took place in Europe also, when during the middle ages, learning found its only secure habitation in the cloisters of the monks. In India, too, a time came when the old class Brahmin *gṛhasthas*, the founders of *Brahma-vidyā* like Yājñavalkya and Aruṇi, living under royal patronage and protection and yet giving direction to the spiritual life of these very kings, were replaced by politically minded Brahmins of the Kauṭilya type and also of the type of Vātsyāyana. The decaying morality of cities then drove religion and philosophy away into monasteries.

The parallel rise of Buddhist monastic orders must have been another cause. For, this too accentuated the rise of corresponding monastic orders among the Hindus. It is open to doubt whether before Buddhism Hindu *sannyāsis* had at all got into the habit of living the life of cenobite monks, in well-organised monasteries, the contrary rather appears to have been the custom; originally they were mostly anchorites, living an isolated life, and therefore, incapable of preserving and propagating learning,

1 Cf. Pāṇini, iv. 3. 110, which seems to refer to some monastic orders by whom the Vedānta-sūtras were studied.

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which is a social activity. But after Buddhism, well-organised monastic orders arose among the Hindus also and well-built monasteries were founded ; and these gradually became the repository of philosophical learning in general and Vedāntism in particular.

Not that the class of *gṛhastha* Vedāntists, i.e., men who remained in the world and yet studied the Vedānta, was altogether extinct ; nor was it the case that Vedānta, was to be found only in the monasteries and nowhere else in the country. Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava*, Act i gives an account of himself as belonging to a family of the Vedāntists, though at the same time he was a resident of a city (*Padmapuram*). But the chief home of the Vedānta, at least from the time of Śaṅkara i. e. from the 8th century downwards, has been the great monasteries of the country and it was pursued by *sannyāsins*. They were not *sannyāsins* of the old, orthodox type, who had reached the last quarter of their span of life and were only waiting for their end ; but they were men in full possession of their powers of mind and body and thus capable of putting forth great efforts. And their monasteries were established in some sacred place which attracted large concourse of men. Thus, Śaṅkara's *maṭhas* were founded in places like Hardwar, already a holy place of pilgrimage. But a place chosen for a monastery also might acquire the character of holiness in subsequent time.

In the various accounts of the travels of *Caitanya*, the founder of Bengal *Vaiṣṇavism*, we are told of his many encounters with Vedāntists (cf. *Karcā* of Govindadas, published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 28, 46). Though not all, most of these Vedāntists were *sannyāsins*. This was in the fifteenth century. And in the seventeenth century, Dara Shukoh tells us in the Introduction to his translation of the Upaniṣads, that he obtained them from *sannyāsins* and *paṇḍits* at Benares. All this clearly shows with what class of men the Vedānta had found shelter in those times. *Gṛhasthas* also were there who studied the Vedānta and knew it.

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Śaṅkara himself belonged to an already established order of *sannyāsins*—teachers and writers of the Vedānta; he was not the founder of the order (see his *Bhāṣya* on Sūtra, ii.1, 9.) and several of his predecessors are known to us, e. g. Gauḍapāda, Govinda, etc. Now, if we place Śaṅkara in the 7th century A.C., as it is usually done, then this order of *sannyāsins* must have come into existence at least a hundred years before him, i.e., not later than the 6th century A.C., or perhaps the 5th. From the 5th up to the 17th century A.C., therefore, *sannyāsins* took quite a leading part in the spread, preservation and development of Vedāntism. They were the chief writers, the chief teachers and almost the only men who pursued it in life as a religion.

Résumé : (1) Vedāntism must be at least 2500 years old, if not older. Originally, it was followed and cultivated by brahmins living in the world and taking an active part in the sacrificial religion of the time. These men lived perhaps away from, but not without touch with, the busy centres of life and political activity, under the protection and patronage of princes and potentates. This phase is illustrated in the description of the lives of the Upaniṣadic teachers, such as Yājñavalkya, as preserved in the Upaniṣads themselves.

(2) At the second stage, Vedāntism appears to have separated itself from the orthodox Vedic rites and was cultivated more sedulously by men who did not maintain much close relation with Vedic practices; or, who had perhaps seceded altogether from that kind of religion, or, perhaps, who had adopted the life of a *sannyāsin* and thus had no obligation to perform these sacrificial rites. This phase is illustrated in some of the later Upaniṣads which decry *karma* and applaud *sannyāsa*; and the tendency is also noticeable in the Sūtras themselves and in those commentators who, unlike Upavarṣa, separated the two Mīmānsās and looked upon the Vedānta as an independent study.

(3) At the last stage, we find the Vedānta almost in exclusive possession of *sannyāsins*, who had left behind all

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other concerns of life and devoted themselves to the study of this *vidyā* as a means for their salvation. This is most clearly illustrated in the school of Śaṅkara.

We must remember that these changes took place without any apparent breach with the past. When the Vedānta Sūtras were placing emphasis on the last *āśrama* as a necessary condition for the attainment of Brahma, they were avowedly relying on Upaniṣadic texts. In the Upaniṣads, the *āśramas* were undoubtedly recognised and practised, but instruction in Brahma-vidyā appears to have been imparted and received in the *gṛhastha āśrama*. The Sūtras, however, shift the stress on the last *āśrama*.

The later *sannyāsi* schools enhance this stress and direct attention more to those texts which condemn *karma* than to those which make them obligatory; and eventually take their stand on those texts which openly denounce the worldly life and allow the fourth *āśrama* at any time of life (e.g. Jābāla Upaniṣad). Like the development of law by judicial interpretation, the followers of the Vedānta also gradually changed their character and relation with society, by slowly shifting the emphasis from one kind of *śruti* texts to another, until Vedānta found itself mostly in the hands of *sannyāsins*.

After the few female names in the Upaniṣads, no other woman's name occurs in the long history of Vedānta. We may hear now and then of women who became nuns and emulated the life of a Vedāntist, such as Sulabhā in *Mahābhārata*, xii. 320; but their contribution to the development and spread of the *vidyā* was next to nothing.

In Buddhism, women were given almost an equal footing with men, and, various orders of nuns (*bhikṣuṇīs*) were also established. But Buddha made this concession to women rather reluctantly; and the evils that manifested themselves in later times, confirmed his foresight. Vedāntism, however, maintained its rigour against women; after the Upaniṣadic times, woman was studiously excluded from the study

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of Vedānta. Not being entitled to the sacred thread (*upanayana*), she was not entitled to the study of *śruti*, and, therefore, to the study of Vedānta. In the various monastic orders that pursued Vedānta, woman seldom figures.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the history of the world's philosophy, woman's contribution has been practically nothing: much less has been her share in the development of Indian philosophy. But still credit is due to the women of the Upaniṣadic time, such as Gārgī; for, they were intelligent questioners and appreciative listeners. After them, even this much is not found to belong to woman.

Vedāntism is not merely a philosophy but also a secular study or intellectual exercise: it always bore the sacred stamp of a religion. And as such, it was never any one man's property, like the system founded by a great thinker, such as Spinoza or Spencer, Kant or Hegel. Nor is it enough to regard it as a school of thought; for, it has had a very much greater continuity than any known school of philosophy. Whole generations of thinkers and writers combined their efforts to keep it alive and develop it. It was almost a culture; and the development and spread of this culture belonged to different classes of men at different epochs of its history; and the seat of its existence also has varied from time to time.

Lastly, as to caste, the Vedāntists were almost exclusively Brahmins; as to sex, almost exclusively males. And as to *āśrama*, latterly, though not originally, mostly *sannyāsins*. As to its habitation, Vedānta might well be described as a forest growth; originally under kingly patronage, but later in isolation from the social and political life of the country, in far-off *tīrthas* or secluded *maṭhas*, away from the busy centres of commerce and politics, Vedānta has lived its serene life as *Mokṣa-vidyā*.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

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Topography in the Purāṇas—Puruṣottamakṣetra

Introduction

To the student of mythology and religion, a thorough acquaintance with the sacred rivers and mountains, Tīrthasthānas and Puṇyakṣetras of India, which even to this day attract pilgrims from the remotest parts of India, is but essential. A general knowledge of the topography of those places was perhaps sufficiently well-known in the days of the Purāṇas. We are often informed of the rivers and mountains of India, with description of the boundary of those Puṇyasthānas. We are often directed to undertake the journey to the kṣetra concerned by the southern side of a hill, pursuing a course along the north bank of a particular river, keeping a city in the left and a village in the right and so on. These topographical records are valuable for determining some unknown places of ancient Indian geography. Some of the Purāṇas which, to some extent, may be regarded as handbooks to the Puṇyasthānas are thus valuable as a source of the study of Ancient Indian geography, and also as tending to indicate the different stages in the evolution of Ancient Indian geography.

In India, notices of Topography are essentially related to the description of Tīrthas ; so the best specimen of Purāṇic topography, I believe, is to be found in the Skanda Purāṇa—a book as voluminous as the Mahābhārata, having not a single feature by which it can be called a Purāṇa ; and if it is at all to be styled so, it can be called a "Tīrtha Purāṇa." Indeed it is to be noted that the Skanda Purāṇa begins with the description of the Tīrtha places in a very systematic way and describes them one by one according to their geographical setting. For example, the Purāṇa after describing the Puruṣottamakṣetra passes through all the tīrthas of south-east and south-west coast of India, one by one, until the Prabhāsa-kṣetra (Book vii) is reached and in this way it appears that the Purāṇa has attempted to form a garland of Tīrthas. My references are therefore to Skanda Purāṇa, and I have utilised the materials of the other Purāṇas where necessary. I have attempted here only to show how far the topographical records involved in the description of the Puṇyasthānas and in the

The Skanda Purāṇa and the Purāṇic Topography.

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narration of the pilgrimage to those places, as contained in the Purāṇas, are in harmony with the position of the various rivers, mountains and cities which we know. Let us start with the Puruṣottamakṣetra.

The whole of the second canto of the second volume of the Skanda Purāṇa describes the māhātmya of the Puruṣottamakṣetra. Regarding the boundary of the kṣetra it is thus said in ii, 2, 1

Aho tat paramaṃ kṣetraṃ vistṛtaṃ daśayojanaiḥ
Tīrtharājasya salilād utthitaṃ bālukācitam 12
Nīlācalena mahatā madhyasthena virājitam 13
* * * * * *
Sāgarasyottaratīre mahānadyās tu dakṣiṇe
Sa pradeśaḥ pṛthivyāṃ hi sarvatīrthaphalapradaḥ 31

Puruṣottamakṣetra is therefore the tract of land which rises from the ocean and is bounded by it on the south and by the river Mahānadī on the north. This is ten yojanas in area. The river Mahānadī here certainly refers to the great river of Orissa on the north of Puri. It should be noticed that the eastern coast of India has taken a definite south-western bend from Puri, or near about that, so much so that the ocean, that is, the Bay of Bengal, surrounds Puri in the south, and, the Puruṣottamakṣetra which extended in the south up to Puri thus stands on the north of the ocean (Sāgarasyottaratīre). But regarding the northern boundary of the kṣetra another statement is to be found in ii, 2, 12 where it is said,

Dakṣiṇasyodadhes tīre nīlācalavibhūṣitam
Daśayojanavistīrṇaṃ * * * 74
* * * * *
Tasyottarasyāṃ vikhyātaṃ vanam ekāmrakāhvayam 77

The northern boundary of the kṣetra is said here to have been the Ekāmravana instead of the river Mahānadī. The Ekāmravana is the modern Bhuvaneśvara on the river Gandhavatī, some twenty miles to the south of Cuttack in Orissa (Brahma Purāṇa, 41). So it appears that Bhuvaneśvara was the northern boundary of the kṣetra and not the river Mahānadī. And as Cuttack is to some extent on the bank of the Mahānadī, Bhuvaneśvara is thus twenty miles south of the river Mahānadī. So it follows that the area of the kṣetra is ten yojanas, when Mahānadi or Bhuvaneśvara is the northern boundary. This however is contradictory. Anyway leaving aside the question of the area of the kṣetra, it can be reasonably supposed that the kṣetra at the time of the Skanda Purāṇa comprised the modern South

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Cuttack and Puri district of the Orissa division of the Bihar and Orissa Province.

In both the passages quoted above it is said that in the interior of the kṣetra there was the Nīlācalaparvata. There are two ranges of hills of that name in Cuttack. In northern Cuttack, north of the river Mahānadī near Balasore, there is a group of picturesque rocky hills, while in the southern Cuttack along the shore there are several hills terminating in a chain of mountains. But as the Puruṣottamakṣetra, as shown above, comprised the southern Cuttack and Puri district, Nīlācala cannot be the hills of Northern Cuttack, but must be the hills of southern Cuttack running like a chain along the sea-shore. And to this effect we find other passages in the Purāṇa. Thus in ii, 2, 1, 34 it is said—

Nīlācala.

Sindhutīre tu yo brahman rājate Nīlaparvataḥ etc.

and again in ii, 2, 11, 128—

Dakṣiṇodadhitīre 'sti Nīlādriḥ kānanāvṛtaḥ.

All these imply the immediate neighbourhood of the sea to the Parvata, which more plausibly refers to the hills of southern Cuttack, lying within the boundary of the kṣetra, and is nearer to the sea than the hills of northern Cutttack which has got no such vicinity to the sea. The distance of the Parvata from the sea is stated to be two (ii, 2, 3, 52-53) or three krośas (ii, 2, 4, 1). So also the area of the kṣetra is given as ten yojanas and five krośas (ii, 2, 3, 52; ii, 2, 4, 1). It is really difficult to make out anything from these contradictory statements.

The holy kṣetra seems to have been included within a country which they called Utkala, and, which they described as being situated on the shore of the southern ocean. Thus it is said in ii, 2, 4 :

Utkala, Uḍra, Orissa, Kaliṅga.

Supuṇye cotkale deśe dakṣinārṇavatoraṇe

The southern ocean is the Bay of Bengal as has been found to be implied on many occasions and it is said that Utkala was on the shore of that sea. Utkala perhaps meant a greater unit than the kṣetra, roughly corresponding to the modern Orissa division of the Bihar and Orissa province. And this is implied in some verses also (ii, 2, 6, 26-7). The chapter begins with a query as to the location of the Puruṣottamakṣetra, and it is held that the kṣetra lies in Utkaladeśa regarding which the following notice is given :

Sa eṣa deśapravara utkalākhyo dvijottamāḥ 26

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Ṛṣikulyāṃ samāsādya dakṣiṇodadhigāmināṃ
Svarṇa-rekhā mahānadyor madhye deśaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ 37

It is apparent here that Utkala comprised the country beginning from the river Ṛsikulyā which flows to the sea (Bay of Bengal) up to the river Suvarṇarekhā including the river Mahānadī. Ṛsikulyā is the modern river Rasikoila (Thorn. Gaz.) on which is situated Ganjam and which falls into the sea. The river Suvarṇarekhā, which is still called so, practically divides Bengal and Bihar & Orissa. Utkala therefore corresponded to the country beginning from Ganjam in the south up to the south-western confines of Bengal, i.e., roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Orissa division about as far north as the river Suvarṇarekhā on the confines of the Midnapur and Balasore districts. But what was Oḍra or Uḍra deśa? In ii, 2, 7, 23 it is said that Uḍradeśa lies on the shore of the ocean, where there is the Puruṣottamakṣetra. Evidently Utkala and Uḍra are here supposed to be the same country. The Brahma Purāṇa (28, 1) also says that Auḍra lies near to the sea and in other places (28, 9; 42, 6) it has been called Utkala; and further it is said (42, 35) that the famous Puruṣottama resides there. All these suggest that Utkala and Uḍra are the same country. But unless we know the boundary of Uḍra we cannot probably be sure of it. The Skanda Purāṇa records no boundary of Uḍra. The Brahma Purāṇa, however, says (28, 1-2) that Uḍra-deśa extended right up to Virāja-maṇḍala from the shore of the sea. The shore of the sea certainly refers to Puri and its adjoining places. Regarding Virāja-maṇḍala it is said that it was on the river Vaitaraṇī (92, 9). The Mahābhārata also repeats (Vana, 85, 6) that Virāja-kṣetra was on the river Vaitaraṇī. Virāja-maṇḍala is therefore modern Jajpur which stands on the northern bank of a river, which is still called Vaitaraṇī, flowing between the river Suvarṇarekhā on the north and Mahānadi on the south. It seems therefore that though Utkala was called Uḍra, yet there was much difference between the two. For, whereas Utkala extended from Ṛsikulyā right up to the river Suvarṇarekhā, Uḍra only extended up to the river Vaitaraṇī on the confines of the Balasore and Cuttack districts from Puri. Uḍra, according to the Purāṇas, was therefore a much lesser unit than Utkala, though, of course, it was included within the country mentioned last.

Mr. Pargiter (Ancient Countries of Eastern India, JASB, 1897, p. 103 f.) however arrives at an altogether different conclusion. He says that Oḍra in ancient times occupied the western part of Midnapur and also other districts such as Manbhum, Singhbhum, etc., north

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of the river Kapiśā of Kālidāsa (Raghu, iv, 38-93), i.e., modern Cossye which flows through Midnapur. But it is really discouraging to think that the Purāṇa, which has preserved an accurate geography of the Puruṣottamakṣetra, should err and confuse in such a manner. The Uḍras are rarely alluded to in the Sanskrit literature, excepting in some passages of the Mahābhārata. It will also be acknowledged that it is the Oḍras, who have given their name to modern Orissa or Oḍradeśa as it is also called. It is also to be noticed that the Oriya or Oḍiya is spoken throughout Orissa and Ganjam district. All these connect Oḍra more with modern Orissa or Utkala than with Midnapur and its neighbouring districts. Again in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira where we find an elaborate list of the countries and people respectively belonging to the nine divisions, nowhere Uḍra and Utkala are mentioned as separate countries; on the other hand, Oḍra has been mentioned as a country (xiv, 5, 6, 7) and Utkala a people in the same division implying, thereby, that in the same country of Uḍra, the Utkalas lived. Mr. Pargiter gives no other reason, except that if the country from Ganjam to the river Cossye were occupied by the Kaliṅgas and Utkalas, then the Oḍras must be pushed further up the river in Bengal. But there are no reasonable grounds to introduce the separate establishment of the Uḍras and the Utkalas; on the other hand, there is strong evidence in the Purāṇas, as we have seen, of their common establishment in one country, which is alternately described as Uḍradeśa or Utkaladeśa though, of course, Uḍra was a smaller unit than Utkala. But as the Purāṇas reflect almost the mediæval stage of Indian geography it might be said as Mr. Pargiter has carefully observed (p. 104) that in ancient times the Oḍras probably occupied some portions of Bengal near Midnapur, but afterwards they "pushed southward" and resided in the country from Ṛsikulyā to the river Suvarṇarekhā which they called Uḍradeśa or Utkaladeśa.

Then what was Kaliṅga? Rapson says that it was between the rivers Godāvarī and Mahānadī (Ancient India, p. 164). General Cunningham is of opinion that it was between the Godāvarī river on the south-west and the Gaoliya, branch of Indravatī river on the north-west (Anc. Geo., p. 516). Pargiter observes from some passages of the Mahābhārata (JASB, 1897, p. 98) that Kaliṅga began in the north from the river Vaitaraṇī; and in the west extended up to the Amarakaṇṭaka hills (Kurma Purāṇa, ii,

Kaliṅga.

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39, 9). That Kaliṅga lay in the south-east part of India is also admitted by Varāhamihira (Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, xiv, 8, 9, 10). But we have seen in the passages cited above that the whole country from Ṛṣikulyā up to the river Suvarṇarekhā was called Utkala. So we see that the testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Skanda Purāṇa is radically opposite. In Raghuvaṃśa. iv, 38-53 Kālidāsa seems to support the Mahābhārata. There he says that Raghu after crossing the river Kapisā or Cossye in Midnapur was received by the king of Utkala who took him to Kaliṅga, which has led Mr. Pargiter to conclude that Utkala roughly corresponded to the country from Cossye to Vaitaraṇī, and from Vaitaraṇī southwards the country was called Kaliṅga. It seems hazardous to draw an accurate boundary of these two countries, for most probably it is a fact that there was no sharp demarcation between these two countries, and that the same country which was called Kaliṅga in ancient times came to be termed both Utkala and Kaliṅga at a later period. The word Utkala appears to have been coined in comparatively modern times probably because both the Utkalas and Kaliṅgas belonged to the one and the same race ('Kal' is common). The country in a later period came to be termed both Utkala and Kaliṅga, and in fact, it is very often to be found in the Purāṇas, which reflect the mediæval stage of Indian geography, that the same country is called both Kaliṅga and Utkala, probably implying the possibility of drawing this conclusion that there was hardly any difference between the two, and if any difference between the two ever existed, it was probably very slight.

King Indradyumna's pilgrimage to Puri.

In chapter 11 of the Skanda Purāṇa (ii, 2) is described the journey of the king Indradyumna of Mālava to Puruṣottamakṣetra. The king perhaps followed a route through the southern valley of the Tāptī, and it is said that he halted with his party in a certain forest called Dhātukandara on the bank of the river Citrotpalā Mahānadī. Now, the river Mahānadī, as we know, rising in a hill (Amarakaṇṭaka) of the Central Provinces flows northwards for a long distance, and then takes an eastern course. In course of its northern flow a river called Pain meets it near Rajim in the Raipur district of the Chatrishgarh division of the Central Provinces. The Mahānadī below its junction with Pain was called Citrotpalā or rather Citrotpalā of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Mārk. 57 ; Arch. Sur. R., vii, 155 ; xvii, 70). The Dhātukandara forest might be some hill of the Raipur district. It is natural therefore

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that this Citropalā Mahānadī intervened in the king's way to Orissa from Mālava. However the king crossed the river and so entered into the southern valley of the river Mahānadī ; and it is said that there he was received by the king of Utkala, evidently implying that the boundary of the country over which the king of Utkala ruled extended in the west up to the river Mahānadī, in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces, where the Mahānadī was called Citropāla Mahānadī ; and this seems to be more in consonance, if we regard Kaliṅga and Utkala as one and the same country, for the Kurma Purāṇa (ii, 39, 9 ; see ante. p. 9.) says that Kaliṅga extended in the west up to Amarakaṇṭaka Parvata—a hill wherefrom the river Mahānadī has taken its rise. It appears, therefore, that Utkala extended from the river Suvarṇarekhā on the north to the river Ṛsikulyā on the south, and from Citropalā Mahānadī river of the C. P. on the west to the sea on the east.

However, the king with his party proceeded eastwards (ii, 2, 12) and then reached the Ekāmrakānana. Ekāmrakānana is Bhuvaneśvara and it is said that they crossed the river Gandhavahā, which is but too natural, for Ekāmrakānana was situated on that river. Here it is said that the king Indradyumna enquired about the distance of the kṣetra from that place. 'Kṣetra' here obviously means Puri, for Bhuvaneśvara, as we have seen, was included in the kṣetra. The king of Utkala replied that it was yet 3 yojanas. Three yojanas is perhaps equivalent to some 25 miles (JRAS, 1904, p. 83) which roughly speaking may be supposed to be 30 miles, the distance between Puri and Bhuvaneśvara.

So it seems that the topographical records of the Skanda Purāṇa involved in the description of the Puruṣottamakṣetra evince a fairly good knowledge of the compilers regarding the modern Orissa division of Bihar and Orissa province. It can be concluded that this geographical knowledge could hardly have been obtained except from an actual visit to that Tīrtha by some person.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI

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Birbhum and Western Bengal in the Eighteenth Century:

An Economic and Sociological Study

It is proposed in these pages to present some material for an economic history of Birbhum and Western Bengal during the eighteenth century. This period has been chosen because it seems to present, either in germ, or in full, the action and development of the forces that led India from its mediæval period to modern age. The breaking up of the Mughal Empire is one great leading characteristic of this century; the rise of the new political forms under which India has carried on its existence ever since is the other one.

It is not the plan, however, to sketch the political events that mark the decline and downfall of the Muhammadan regime in India, nor those that have to do with the origin of new dynasties and the beginnings of the British power. It will be largely the inner development of the 18th century India, which will claim our attention.

This period was not only destructive but just as truly creative. It developed or rather perfected all the forms to which the economic life in nearly all its activities has clung to the present day.

The advantage of choosing a rather limited area of India, only a small portion of one of its provinces, namely that portion of Bengal which lies west of the Hughli and takes in the northern portion of the present Burdwan Division, largely ignoring the District of Midnapore, will be that it will enable us to make a more minute study of this region than would have been possible if all of Bengal had been chosen. A provincial or even local colouring of our pages will be at least as much of an advantage as a disadvantage; it will make possible a more intensive treatment of our subject.

The great historic landmarks of India in the 18th century are the death of Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal Emperor in 1707, the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the battle of Plassey in 1757, and of Bengal, the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. These four dates respectively mark the end of the line of really capable emperors, the end of Delhi as a political influence, the actual beginning of British dominion in India and the stereotyping of the Muhammadan fiscal policy, for Bengal at least, into that of modern British India.

On the crowded canvas of Indian history in the 18th century, which was partly European history enacted in Asia,—the struggle between France and England for world dominion,—there are many brilliant figures and countless events of historical importance. It is not our purpose to touch upon any historical event or person having no bearing on the economic history of that part of Bengal which we have chosen for treatment. The contemporary events of all Indian history will therefore only be utilized in as far as they contribute to a clearer perspective of the significance of the economic history of the territory concerned. Yet even for this modest attempt, the preliminary will probably have to be a hasty sketch of the events of northern and western India which vitally affected also the history of Bengal.

The rise of the Mahratta power really belongs to the preceding century, yet the Mahrattas continued to be the disturbing element in India almost throughout the 18th century. In importance they are clearly the first of the purely Indian factors, which created this turbulent period. The second factor is probably the gradual rising of that firm of British merchants and adventurers, called the East India Company, to a place of supreme political power and influence among the split-up principalities of the time. And thirdly, there was also the quiet persistence of Indian conservatism of the village community, and the ties of religion and custom, holding out against the intrusion of a new time and new political ideals. This whole century presents the fearful spectacle of an almost unbroken series of political cataclysms and upheavals. Whether it will be possible to trace side by side with these violent changes in political history a somewhat orderly evolution of economic theory working out into definite economic institutions, laws and fixed customs, the following pages will show. The hectic history of the eighteenth century finally crystalized into the more even tenor of that of the ninteenth century ; civil law and order finally succeeded racial feuds and political anarchy,and the Pax Britannica ended up the most prolonged period of bloodshed and misery that India in her long history had ever known. It will be necessary first of all to go a few centuries back tracing the meagre supply of materials which the Muhammadan historians provided for this period of India and Bengal. Much spade work will have still to be done to get a clearer view of the history of the semi-independent kingdom of this region, notably, that of Birbhum.

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This whole region was known in Akbar's time as Madaran; under that name Abul Fazl in his famous Imperial Gazetter, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, lists what is now known as the larger portion of the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, with portions of Midnapur, Hughli and Howrah.

The Pargana System of Fiscal Administration

The most common unit of fiscal administration in Muhammadan India was the Pargana. In Akbar's famous gazetteer, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the term *pargana* is not used, the word *mahal* is substituted for it, and we are informed that the twelve provinces of the empire, as they existed then, contained 105 *sirkars*. Every *sirkar* was again subdivided into *mahals*, of which a total of 2,467 are enumerated.

Akbar and the Mughals were not the originators of this system of land division. Credit has been given to Sher Shah for adopting the pargana system uniformly all over his empire, but pargana seems to have existed in Sikandar Ludi's time and probably earlier. Kalika Ranjan Qanungo in his excellent 'Biography of Sher Shah' (Calcutta, 1921) thinks that the terms *mahal*, as used in Akbar's time, and *pargana*, are exactly equivalent. The empire in Akbar's time according to Abul Fazl, the composer of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, had 105 *sirkars*, with 2,737 *townships* (kasbahs), or, as Mr. Qanungo counts them, 86 *sirkars* with 2,467 *mahals*. Whether the system of *mahals* was kept up long is doubtful. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, as it is, has the appearance of a somewhat pedantic classification and systematization, which may or may not have existed in reality throughout all the empire. In the stormy times that followed the age of Akbar there was every chance for provincial administrative peculiarities to assert themselves, and by the time of the arrival of the British in Bengal there seems to have existed, at least in that province, a much larger number of parganas than can be accounted for by comparing any given part of Bengal of modern times with the corresponding part of Abul Fazl's list. (See, for instance, the original Twenty-four Parganas of the district which now goes by that name).[1]

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1 In North India the *Sirkar*, as an administrative unit, existed down to British times. In extant documents that have come to my knowledge, the Sirkars of *Sambhal, Kanauj, Karnaul* were mentioned in the second half of the 18th century. Even in Bengal, we find the Sirkar Srihatta (Sylhet) at least as late as 1685.

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Again, take the present district of Birbhum which contains 22 *parganas*, 4 *tappas* (Haripur, Khirni, Nuni and Shah Alampur), 8 *taluks* and 1 *chakla* (Gokulta), a total of 35 units. That these different terms of administrative division have not always been used consistently, is certain. The District Gazetteer of Birbhum, for instance, calls Amdahara and Supur *taluks*, while in Sherwill's survey of 1855 Amdahara is called a *pargana*. It seems that the division into parganas not merely served fiscal purposes, but was also utilized in other departments. The village Amdahara, for instance, originally had the munsiff's court for this part of the district. As late as 1867, the court, which is now in Bolpur, was held in that out of the way village, about six miles to the north of Bolpur.

Even in upper India the farmans and deeds concerning landed property from Jahangir's time seem to use the term *pargana* throughout, rather than *mahal* (Cf., Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, 1926). The same seems to be the case in Bengal.

Much of the system of administration as found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* may have existed merely on paper. At any rate, the names of *sirkars*, and even whole provinces, kept changing their names and even their boundaries during the later Mughal age.

Madaran, one of the sirkars of Abul Fazl, including the greater part of the present Birbhum district with portions of neighbouring district, does not figure much after Akbar's time as an administrative unit. Most likely the rise and extension of the kingdom of Birbhum during that time, and the larger part of all Bengal becoming practically an independent kingdom not long after Aurangzib's time, had something to do with the disappearance of the name of Madaran from public records. In one of Bankim Chatterjee's novels, Durgeshnandini, there figures a fort, Garh Mandaran in Midnapur, indicating evidently the locality from which the name of the Sirkar had been derived.

Due to the institution of chaklas by Murshid Ali Khan, about 1722, and due also to other causes, the *Sirkars* of Bengal do not figure largely in history. On the whole, the endeavour of the Muhammadan rulers to substitute and emphasize the larger unit for the smaller, sirkars for parganas, chaklas for sirkars, and the subah as the unit covering a whole country, was not very successful in Bengal, due to the political disturbances and the existence of many semi-independent principalities.

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From Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal (p. 428), we learn the name of one of the fiscal officers appointed by Sher Shah in this part of the country. The old Pandit's chronicle used by Hunter states as follows:

"Sher Shah made over *Soory* to Adoola, the son of Boduroolah. In 1540 Sher Shah with 500,000 (?) Afghans defeated Hoomaon at Canouj and mounted the throne of Delhi. In the following year he came to Gour and divided it into several districts, over each of which he placed a district ruler. These governors had a superior who adjusted disputes and acted as the Viceroy of Sher Shah."

This statement is essentially correct and refers to the institution of the fiscal system into sirkars and mahals as discussed above. What the relation of Adoola was to the later Muhammadan dynasty of Birbhum, I have not been able to trace.

The Riyazul-Salatin then tells us also the name of that chief officer placed in charge of the whole of Bengal. It was Qazi Fazilat, a scholar of Agra, who was set in a position of overlordship over these tribal chiefs. He is praised for his honesty and scholarship (p. 145).

But from Badauni, another Muhammadan historian, we learn that not all people shared this favourable estimate of Qazi's character, for some called him Qazi Fazihat which means *Ignominity* (p. 474).

The office of this Qazi was evidently of a judiciary kind. *Subahs* as administrative units were a Mughal creation. The Sur kings being a somewhat short-lived dynasty did not get time to consolidate their regime sufficiently so as to produce a standardised history of their own empire. The writing of their history was largely left to the mercy of the Mughal dynasty, and therefore as regards strict historical accuracy and fairness, the results were not always good. Men like Badauni wrote carefully, and on the whole truthfully, and if they could not, under the new regime, tell all they knew about the Sur dynasty, they certainly have preserved for us much of its history.

It would be interesting to trace back, as far as the rather insufficient material allows, the history of some of the geographical units of the Muhammadan revenue system. The tappa Haripur, for instance, includes Rajnagar, the old capital of the former kingdom of Birbhum. How did it happen that this region, settled by Muhammadans since early 13th century, has a Hindu name? Here is a matter for reflection and a field for investigation.

One of the oldest names of administrative units in this district is perhaps the Pargana Khatanga (or Hukmapur Taluk) which comprises the town of Suri. The close neighbourhood of Birsinghpur

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to Khatanga seems to throw some light on the relation that must have existed between Rajnagar, the old capital of Birbhum, and Suri, the present headquarters of the district. Leaving aside traditions and old wives' fables, it is likely that the Afghan family of Shams Khan, the father of Asadullah Khan, having acquired some government post during Sher Shah's time or after, gradually took over the little Hindu kingdom of Birsinghpur. Such a principality actually existed and it is just as likely that they were the predecessors of the Muhammadan dynasty at Rajnagar and the real chieftains of that part of the country, rather than the legendary Hindu dynasty of Rajnagar of which Hunter, following local tradition, has found only one name, Bir Rajah, which is somewhat meaningless, or at least vague. There are, besides these two Bir dynasties, those of Birsinghpur and Suri, at least two or three more places beginning with Bir at various places in Birbhum and all these places seem well provided with traditions about dynasties of Bir Rajahs, and certainly can show ruins to substantiate their claims partly. So it seems a fair question, whether such places owe their name to certain individuals or families, or whether these families owe their designation to their local dwelling places and possessions.[1]

This much seems clear that the Hindus and the Muhammdans continued their struggle for supremacy all over West Bengal throughout the Muhammadan period. For this also the history of the adjacent principality of Burdwan (with its semi-independent Zemindars), and Bishnupur (with its old dynasty of ruling Hindu princes), furnish many proofs.

Mr. Mahimaranjan Chuckerburty of Hetampur Rajbati thinks that

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1 The first four rulers of the Birbhum dynasty (1600-1751) were known as Diwans, only their successors used the title Raja. Is this a clue of their original dependence on Birsinghpur?

There is a Raja Narendra Singha and a Kumar Birsingha as late as 1729, taking land on lease from the Rajnagar Raj. (See Mitra, Early Bengali Prose, p. 44).

Thus it would seem that strong Hindu influences are traceable in the region of the Morakhi river within the old Hindu parganas (or former principalities) of Maureswar, Khatanga and Haripur, while in the south, in the basin of the middle Ajay, we have the old pargana of *Senbhum* harking back traditionally to the pre-Muhammadan times and the renowned Sen dynasty in Bengal.

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the Pargana of Alinagar in the neighbourhood of Hetampur originated as late as the 18th century taking its name from Ali Naki Khan, the son of Diwan Badi-ul-Zamam Khan (See his Birbhum Vivarana, vol. I).

Another line of investigation that suggests itself is to trace some technical terms of office and fiscal administration from the time before Akbar through the Mughal period, down to the British times.

The Office of Shiqdar

The earliest reference to this office seems to be in Al-Badauni's *Muntakhab-ul-Tawairikh*. According to this author, Sultan Bahlul Ludi of Delhi in 1479 A.D. appointed Shiqdars (Commissioners, as Ranking translates) in a newly conquered territory in the Doab (Ranking's Badauni, p. 479).

Qanungo mentions in his life of Sher Shah that Babar also appointed *Shiqdars* and futhermore quotes a passage from the Caitanya Caritāmṛta, which proves the existence of Shiqdars around Bṛndābana during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Ludi.

Qanungo goes on to say that in Sher Shah's time each *sirkar* (division) had a chief shiqdar and a chief munsif—the two heads of the military and civil departments respectively. It seems that in those days the chief munsif, beside his judicial capacity, was also in charge of the revenue system of his sirkar.

With the reign of Jahangir a change took place, at least in Bengal, in the administration of the country. The change was from a military administration to a civil government. In the first year of Jahangir's reign, according to Riyazul Salatin (p. 168, note) a *Nazim* and a *Diwan* were appointed for Bengal to replace the former office of *sipasalar* of Akbar's time.

The *Fauzdar* however continued as a police officer and magistrate in charge of several parganas, and how his office affected the land revenue system will be seen from the following extracts, one of which is from the Ain-i-Akbari, to show the underlying idea of revenue collection in Mughal times.

"Whenever a Zemindar, or a collector of the royal or *jagir* lands, is disobedient, he (the Fauzdar) shall endeavour to bring him back to his duty by fair words."

The subsequent passages go on, however, to lay down how military operations against such refractory and disobedient officers should be conducted.

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"For a service which can be affected by infantry, he shall not employ cavalry. He must not be precipitate in attacking a fort but encamp his troops beyond the reach of its guns," etc. Even as late as 1788 a passage is on record which shows how, in some parts of India at least, the revenue had to be raised by the central government by sheer military force.

"Within a mile of the town Lissari I met with Fatehsingh's army, consisting chiefly of horse which collected the revenue from the district and the Cathyware (Kathiawad ?) country. I understand that Fatehsingh sends yearly an army of 20,000 horse to the inland districts, without which he could not obtain 'a single *Calam.*' (Dr. Hove, quoted in Whitworth's Anglo-Indian Dictionary).

It seems clear however that Bengal, even Western Bengal, with the exception of the border principalities of Bisnupur and Birbhum, in the eighteenth century, had become fairly normal as far as civil administration was concerned. While we hear of *Fauzdars* for most of the sections in Western Bengal—Mir Kasim had even appointed one for Birbhum—the separation between *executive* and *military* government on the one hand, and *civil* government entrusted with *finance* and *revenue* on the other, was fairly clear cut and consistent.

In Siva Ratan Mitra's Types of Early Bengali Prose, we have the *Shiqdar* clearly mentioned as a fiscal officer, together with the *Karkun.* These two, the *Shiqdar* and the *Karkun,* were in charge of the revenue department in each pargana. In the majority of cases both officers were Bengalees, usually Brahmins.

The papers showing this state of things range in date from 1707-1786 A.D. and relate to the following parganas, or smaller units, all in or around Birbhum :—Zayanjal, Ekbarshahi, Khatanga, Taluk Alinagar, Taluk Purandarpur. It is not clear whether these two *taluks* were in a class, as far as land tenure goes, different from the parganas, nor does this question concern us here.

The earliest of these records is the copy of a *sanad* made out by Raja Asadullah Khan of Birbhum (1697-1718 A.D.) who is styled *Diwan Sahib,* however, from the year 1707 A.D.

The Sanad is addressed to Vaikuntharam Datta, *Siqdar,* and Madhusudan Sarma, *Karkun,* and deals with 10 bighas of land in the Pargana of Khatanga, of which these two officials must have been in charge. (See Mitra, p. 54).

This goes to prove that the Siqdars had become revenue officers before Murshid Ali Khan's revenue reforms in 1722 A.D.

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Zamindars

If our analysis were extended to the term and office of *Zamindars* we would find that the term and office underwent similar changes during the centuries.

Some writers have held that Zamindars originally were revenue officers, or tax collectors, pure and simple. This might have been the interpretation and meaning of the word as taken by the central government in the Muhammadan times. The actual practice, especially in the outlying districts of Bengal, in border principalities like Bisnupur, Birbhum, etc, even then was however quite different.

Here the Muhammadan fiscal ideal, as developed in upper India, came at once in conflict with Hindu tradition and practice of the centuries.

Especially in Western Bengal, the Hindu Zamindar always had been, or had tended to become, a hereditary landholder with growing administrative and judiciary powers, a semi-independent ruling chief. Sher Shah seems to have appointed or confirmed such semi-independent chiefs in certain principalities on the frontier of the empire, to keep in check the surrounding hill tribes of the present Santal Parganas and of the Chota Nagpur region.

The Ain-i-Akbari mentions Zamindary troops, which must have been Levies raised by the different sirkars of the empire not so much by imperial officers as by the local Zamindars. These Levies did hardly form a part of the regular Mughal army.

Whether these *Zamindars* of Akbar's time were considered an integral part of the fiscal system of the empire is not clear. The empire found them in existence, and dealt with them in the best way it could, not always gently, as they were not always willing to act as revenue officers of the empire, but rather preferred to keep the revenues of their territories for their own uses.

In Jahangir's time we find a deputy of the Nazim of Bengal going out in the interior to chastise some Zamindars in Orissa. (Riyazul-Salatin, p. 188).

As the Zamindars mentioned by the Riyazul-Salatin during the governorship of Azimush Shan, son of Aurangzib (1697-1704), are put together with *Amirs* and *Fauzdars*, they seem to have been considered regular imperial, rather than feudal, dependent revenue officers.

The scene was near Dacca and the passage says, "The Amirs,

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Fauzdars and Zamindars, with appropriate contingents drawn from their respective mahals, presented themselves before the Prince with gifts and tributes, and accompanied the latter in his royal progress" (p. 239).

Azim-us-shan's rival and successor in the Nizamate of Bengal, Murshid Ali Khan, resumed all jagirs in Bengal, giving their former holders *jagirs* in Orissa instead (p. 249).

How that Nawab treated Zamindars who did not pay up their arreas of land-rent is well known. Also here the Riyaz seems to make a distinction between two different classes of defaulters. It says: "He used to thrust into this reservoir (of filth) the defaulting *Zamindars* and defaulting *Collectors of Revenue*." The former I think are the hereditary Zamindars and the latter more recently appointed officials. Such instances could be multiplied by reference to the above authority, and to the *Tawarik Bangla* (Francis Gladwin's translation) which is a real treasure of concise, and at the same time, interesting information, to be used of course with care and discrimination.

The most curious case of how old terminologies are often at variance with changed conditions and with actual facts is found in Mitra, p. 61, in a *sanad* of the year 1782 A.C., made out by the Birbhum Raja just a few years before the British instituted the present Birbhum District,to the following officials of the *Pargana Zayanujal* :—

मुतषुद्दियान महत्मात् ओ आमेनान हाल ओ हस्तकवल ओ चौधरियान ओ कानुनगोयान ओ जमिंदारान ओ तालुकदारान मोस्ताजेरान।

"Mutaṣuddhiyān mahatmāt o amenān hāl o hastakabal o chaudhariyān o kānungoyān o zemindārān o tālukdārān mostajerān.

To all these, the *sanad* announces that some 15 bighas of land had been transferred from some certain Sheik to his brother, agreeably to the *parwana* by the (late) Vedninda (Veda-denying) Muhummad Azd Zamā Khan, *Zamindar* of Birbhum.

Here the term Zemindar is used twice in the same document, once for the great landholder of Birbhum (Asad-ul-Zaman Khan 1752-1777 A.C. was the last real ruler of Birbhum) and then again the same term is applied to another sort of Zemindars, classed with all sorts of small obscure officials, village headmen and others.

Also in Birbhum the eighteenth century was a period of upheavals, a breaking up of the old order of things. The landed property of the Birbhum Raj was sold out to various parties, the Rajas of

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Hetampur becoming its chief successors as Zemindars in western Birbhum. Political indiscretion of the more ambitious, resistance to the rising British power, internal intrigues and family feuds, incapability of the later scions, had their share in bringing about the downfall of this dynasty which had once fairly been on its way to political leadership in Bengal.

(*To be continued*)

GOTTLIEB SCHANZLIN

The Three Great Philosophers of Kerala*

I propose to describe here some of the traditions current amongst us, regarding the founders of the three theistic systems of philosophy, the three venerable figures of divine wisdom, I mean, Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and Pūrṇaprājña Madhvācārya. Regarding the first and the last of these, even traditions are few and far between, and consequently very brief notices alone must for the present suffice. But something more is possible regarding Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the most outstanding figure in the whole range of Sanskrit literature and a name to conjure with for poets and bhaktas and philosophers; and the aspects I propose to describe here this evening are not what have often been emphasised by every writer of Hindu religion and philosophy, but the peculiarly Malayali traits in the life and work of the great seer. I mean to set forth here the Malayali version of the great seer's life and to briefly dwell on what he has done for the material well-being of the Malayali society, and lastly to explain the all comprehending, the all including character of the superb system of philosophy elaborated by him. Any notice of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life and activity is itself a topic of absorbing interest and the aspects here presented must also be interesting not only for

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this reason, but also because these have not yet been emphasised, nor have been brought out to the forefront. This then is probably one reason why in every notice of the great seer's life and work, nothing is said about his contribution to the material well-being of a nation—a contribution that is neither mean nor insignificant. The popular ignorance of this aspect, namely that the saintly philosopher and bhakta has also figured as an eminent sociologist, has organised an enduring society of a very beneficent character is my best excuse for including a reference to this topic also. I propose to deviate from the chronological order and deal first with Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa, then with Madhvācārya and lastly with Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

Prabhākara belonged to the Kīttolli Mana in Vedanāṭṭu-Grāmam. This family originally belonged to the Panniyūr Grāmam, but subsequently migrated from there on account of a religious schism, leading to the destruction of the Varāhamūrti temple at Panniyūr, which took place in the sixties of the sixth century as a tradition supported by the *Kalivākakam*, *cittacalanam*, would have it. This explains the statement that Prabhākara belonged to the Panniyūr sect and besides gives the earliest limit of our author. One incident of Prabhākara's school days is handed down by tradition and it may be recounted here. His *Guru* used to be exceedingly severe towards him, and in spite of all his efforts he could never win a smile, or nod of appreciation, from his teacher. The precocious lad took this attitude on the part of the teacher seriously to heart and resolved to murder his *Guru*. He got into his house and hid himself there. While he was awaiting there an opportune moment to commit the rash deed, he chanced to overhear his *Guru* singing his praises and prophesying that he was bound to be the greatest scholar of his day and the stoutest opponent of the alien creeds and faiths in the land. It was this conviction of his, he was telling his wife, that made him unnecessarily severe towards him and be such a cruel taskmaster, for thus alone he could draw out the best in him and fit him out for the life of stress and strain in store for him. This was too much for the *Śiṣya* to hear, this expression of opinion of his master, and he could contain himself no longer. The impulsive lad rushed to the feet of his master, and with tears in his eyes made a clean breast of all his wicked designs against him. He, then, enquired of his *Guru* what the *prāyaścittam* was for such a heinous crime, and he was told that he must burn himself in a fire made of husk. No sooner was expiatory rite announced than he prepared himself to undergo the ordeal. The *Guru*

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persuaded him to desist, but no amount of persuasion on his part would prevent him from his stern resolve. There was the pyre got ready, and the lad, all the more brilliant for this his firm resolve, jumped into it. Thereupon, as a last measure of rescue, the *Guru* asked him to glorify the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the greatest of Karma-yogins. In obedience to this, the last behest of his teacher, he began a Kāvya, the *Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa*, the loveliest of Kāvyas. The Lord's name was sufficiently powerful to keep him unscathed in the blazing fire; it only exhausted itself, and the boy shone all the more radiant for the ordeal. Having thus washed off his sins, he continued his studies with redoubled vigour and gave the utmost satisfaction to his master. The same tradition makes it out that his real name was Sukumāra, and it is reported that one of the most sacred objects of worship in the Kumbalam Sabha Madham was the pair of slippers used by this great Ācārya. Local legends and traditions are not more prolific regarding Prabhākara.

Before I conclude my notes on Mīmāṃśā, I must make at least a passing reference to our subsequent contribution to this field of philosophy, and I shall confine myself to the notice of one particular family, I mean, the Payyūr Paṭṭa Mana. This family, familiarly known as Bhāṭṭa Mana or Paṭṭa Mana, may well be termed the central stronghold and the most prominent custodian of this śāstra; and naturally so, because it traces its descent from that redoubtable champion of Bhāṭṭamata, Maṇḍanamiśra,[1] who later subscribed to the Advaita creed under the overpowering logic and brilliant eloquence of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. About a thousand years after the time of Prabhākara, i.e., about the 16th century, Bhaṭṭa Mana came out into the full limelight of scholarly eminence and was able to count amongst the children well nigh a dozen of first rate scholars. Ṛṣi, Saṅkara and Bhavadāsa were brothers, of whom only the eldest, Ṛṣi, following the local custom, married, and through his wife Gaurī begot eight sons and one daughter. Of these eight children, the eldest was Parameśvara who is also known as Mīmāṃśā Cakravarti. He is the author of many works, the following being so far known: (1) A commentary called Pradīpa on Śabara Bhāṣya, (2) A commen-

1 Cf. the concluding verses of the commentary on Sphoṭa Siddhi:
Maṇḍanācāryakṛtayo yenādhīyanta kṛtsnaśaḥ/
tadvaṃśyena mayāpyeṣā racitārādhya devatām//

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tary on Maṇḍanamiśra's Sphoṭa Siddhi; (3) A commentary on Kāśikā; (4) A brief commentary on Jaimini, called Mīmāṃsāsūtrārthasaṃgraham; (5) A commentary on Nītitattvāvirbhāva of Cidānanta ; and (6) A commentary on Tattvabindu, called Tattvabhavana. This Parameśvara is, be it noted, a disciple of Śaṅkara and Bhavadāsa, uncles or Appans, as they are called here. Another brother is Nārāyaṇa, who is the author of a commentary on Maṇḍanamiśra's Bhāvaviveka and Vibhramaviveka. Still another brother is a Vasudeva who is the author of a number of works, of which the following are now known : (1) Devīcaritam, a Yamaka Kāvya, in praise of his family patron goddess ; (2) Satyatapaḥ, Kathā dealing with the story of Satyatapas, or Maharṣi, one of the ancestors of the family ; (3) Śivodayam, dealing with the life of himself and his eight brothers ; (4) Acyutalīlā, a kāvya in praise of his family deity, Śrī Kṛṣṇa ; (5) Kaumārilayuktimālā, being a narrative of the principles as maintained in the arguments of Kumārila in his Mīmāṃsāvārttika. Bhavadāsa, one of their uncles, is the author of a commentary on the Kalpasūtras, while Viṣṇu, another member of the family, is the author of a work known as Nyāyatattvasaṃgraham, and a cousin of Nārāyaṇa commented upon it ; he is also the author of a ṭīkā, a commentary on Kumārila Ślokavārttika. Again another Nārāyaṇa, a son of Viṣṇu, is the author of a commentary, called Viṣamagranthabhedikaṭīkā, on Maṇḍana's Bhāvanāviveka. The eight brothers, the two uncles, and the two cousins lived in the same age and naturally gave great lustre to the family. It needs scarcely be said that these brothers and cousins were not unworthy successors of their glorious progenitor.

The only sister of the eight brothers was also not void of her greatness ; for her son is the great Meppatur Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri, one of the greatest poets and grammarians of Kerala. While a detailed notice of this author I must reserve for another occasion I must preforce refer to an interesting anecdote. It was the custom amongst the brothers for all of them to meet together on the anniversary day of their beloved father, and it was a convention amongst them that they must each produce an original Śāstric work, before they could take part in the ceremony. Our poet also used to attend this meeting of the brothers, and on one occasion he placed before them a work, known as Bhūtidhāraṇakhaṇḍanam and presented it to the brothers. Before the brothers would proceed to the performance of their parent's Śrāddha ceremony, they sat down and controverted every one of the arguments brought forward by Bhaṭṭatīri. They

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convinced him, and he was forced to destroy his treatise. Whatever be the truth of this tradition, one thing is certain, and that is, that Bhaṭṭatīri was not only a follower of the Bhāṭṭa school, but is probably the only original Malayali writer on this school of Mīmāṃsā Darśana after his uncles. He is the author of the Māna part of the work Mānameyodaya, while Meya was written by another Nārāyaṇa Bhusura, a protege of the Zamorin, Manaveda of Calicut, who lived towards the latter half of the 17th century. This work is an important treatise in support of the Bhāṭṭa school, and is quoted as an authority. One more work on this school of philosophy also is available, ascribed to a Malayali, and that is a treatise of the nature of a commentary on the Murāri school of Mīmāṃsā by a Nambutīripad, belonging to the famous Kūṭallūr Mana. No further details about the work and its author are available.

Other than these and the works of Prabhākara, our land has not produced any contribution to develop the Mīmāṃsā Darśaṇa, at least so far as is now available. This may appear at first strange, especially when it is remembered that our land has produced a number of scholars in other branches of Sanskrit learning. It is possible that some works may yet be discovered, but even then our contribution in this field must necessarily be small, because of our innate and natural respect for the old and the traditional in all religious matters. In concluding this subject, I have only to state that the existence, side by side, of the two schools of Mīmāṃsā philosophy has coloured the Śrauta and Smārta rites of the Nambutīri Brahmins to an appreciable extent, and this deserves yet to be estimated. This is the least explored of the branches of enquiry that our land opens out to the research student, and since its enquiry is bound to be interesting it invites a number of scholars for its exploration.

Coming to the Dvaita school of philosophy, its founder is Pūrṇaprajñā Madhvācārya, a name which is rightly held in great esteem by a large section of Hindus. The son of Madhyageha Bhaṭṭācārya, Vāsudeva—this was the real name of the Ācārya—was born in the year 4300 K.E. i.e., in or about 1198 A.D. at Pājakakṣetra, near Udipi, through the grace of the Lord enshrined in that seat of religion. His Upanayana ceremony was celebrated in his eighth year, and he was educated by a Brahmin teacher, belonging to the family of Kavungumtoṭṭam. Naturally endowed with a religious turn of mind, he left his home in his eleventh year and, repairing to the sacred shrine of Rajatapiḍha at Udipi, became the disciple of the venerable sage

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Śrī Acyuta Prekṣācārya. Not long after, with the due permisson of his parents, he accepted Sannyāsa from him, and in course of time became raised to the stage of a Paramahaṃsa and studied meanwhile the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas and the various Kalās. Thus his native genius became well endowed with śāstric learning and richly developed by religious training, which eminently fitted him for reforming the Hindu religion, so as to make it appeal to the multitude. It was while his *Guru* was expounding Śrimad Bhāgavatam that Vāsudeva Paramahaṃsa, now called Madhvācārya, first showed in public his original views. On that occasion, he put forth an exposion of the text as original as it was independent, and supported it with a wealth of arguments that could not be overcome. His views were naturally accepted by his *Guru* and his Śiṣyas, and these acclaimed him as a religious leader. Better known thereafter as Pūrṇaprājña, literally *filled with true knowledge*, he made a tour all over India, announcing his view of religion and philosophy and gaining new converts everywhere. On his return, he wrote a Gītā-Bhāṣya from the Dvaita point of view, and then repaired to Badari for a course of penance. The result of his stay there was the production of a Sūtra Bhāṣya and Bhāratārtha-prakāśikā, which he completed after his return to Udipi. It was again during one of his tours that he came across Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya, the then redoubtable champion of the Advaita school and converted him to maintain and uphold his new philosophy. Besides Trivikrama, he had a number of disciples of no mean attainments. All these he ordained as Paramahaṃsas and assigned them each to a particular temple founded by him to propagate his tenets. Another aspect of the great seer's activity consisted in founding a number of temples and in elaborating a new code of temple rituals, in which the Tāntric and Mantric codes were harmoniously blended together. Having thus discharged his mission in life, he laid down his mortal coil at Udipi in 5278 K.E.

This in a nutshell is the information that I have been able to get regarding the seer Pūrṇaprājña Madhvācārya. Considering his life and work, one is inclined to find in him not an intellectual giant, evolving a new philosophy, to serve as the sheet anchor for the Hindu religion, but a lovable personality of a lofty type, evolving a philosophical religion of a particular character, intended not to satisfy the superior intellingentia but the ordinary layman, and making his appeal not so much to reason as to emotion. Prabhākara's work appealed

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only to a particular class of people, the Brahmins; though Śrī Śaṅkarācārya excluded none from his cult, it appealed only to the higher intellectual circle and practically affected only those who had *Vedānta-vicāra* by birth-right. Consequently, these revivals did not affect the vast majority of ordinary Hindus, and they were none the better off for them. These do not help the ordinary man to see and feel religion, do not supply him with a personal god to satisfy the natural cravings of the soul for the same; and no wonder, therefore, that the systematised teachings of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, as expounded by Prabhākara, and those of Uttara Mīmāṃsā, as expounded by Śaṅkara, both alike failed to make the necessary religious appeal to the seething multitude, on whom the impression of the Buddhistic and Jainistic tenets was still afresh. It was time therefore that some reformation was introduced into the practical religion of the masses—a work which fell to the lot of Madhvācārya to achieve. He categorically enunciated a personal God, and thus helped to satisfy the natural cravings of all; raised up temples and elaborated a code of temple rituals which was the result of the harmonious fusion of the Mantric and Tāntric rites, and which, to the ordinary man, was as grand as it was solemn; he threw open the doors of salvation to all alike by insisting on Śraddhā and Bhakti as instruments thereof; and finally supported the edifice of his new cult by postulating a new philosophy. Easy to understand, easy to practice and potent in its appeal, this new cult soon became popular amongst a considerable section of Hindus, to whom a blind orthodoxy denied the privileges of Vedic rituals and Vedāntic lore. It will thus be seen that Madhvācārya's work consisted in supplying a systematised religion to the average Hindus. In other words, then, while Prabhākara Guru and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya saved Hinduism, Madhvācārya saved a large section of Hindus falling away from it. The cult propagated by him may, therefore, be characterised as being the natural and legitimate supplement to the work of his great predecessor—a cult which in character and tone is more religious than philosophical.

We have already referred to Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya, one of the greatest disciples of Madhvācārya, and a passing reference to this author cannot be out of place in this context, especially because there is a concensus of local tradition that this school was supplied with its concrete śāstric basis through the writings of this disciple. This Nambutīri Brahmin, better known as Kāvu Bhaṭṭatīri, is a distinguished scion of Kāvu Mana, one of the well known aristocratic

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families of North Malabar. He was originally a staunch Advaitavādin and in the flush of his śāstric proficiency, he went to see the great seer with the evident purpose of arguing with him and squashing his new system of philosophy. Madhvācārya soon divined his ulterior motives and accordingly brought forward an opportunity to start discussion. Glad of the opportunity, he soon began his discussion, but found the seer more than a match for all his learning and śāstric grit. The discussion went on unabated for fifteen days, and at last Trivikramācārya had to yield to Madhvācārya, and embrace his creed. Possessed of a high order of intelligence and a higher order of śāstric attainments, this new convert became the pet disciple of the master and the chief spokesman of this school. The result was that while the seer contented himself with outlining his system, it was the great Trivikrama who developed and elaborated his master's creed, and raised it to a position of śāstric equality with the Advaita philosophy. It will thus be seen that Kāvu Bhaṭṭatīri, as he is popularly called, occupies in this school the same position that Sureśvara occupies in the system of Advaita philosophy. He is, therefore, looked upon as the *śāstrakāra* of the Dvaita school, one of the most important of his works being Tattvapradīpa, and is naturally treated with as much respect as the founder himself is.

One more feature I wish to notice here—a feature noticeable in the family of Trivikramācārya. Kāvu Mana, as it is known, follows even to-day both the Advaita and the Dvaita schools of philosophy. When the members of the family are in the Vaṭikkini, or the northern wing of the house, they are Dvaitas and they strictly conform to the code of conduct laid down for the Dvaitas, while elsewere in the house they are Advaitas. This is something very unique, and could be seen only in our land. It is said that from the northern wing of this house north-wards to the end of Kerala, Dvaitism predominates ; it is practically the only creed available. Thus this house is the meeting place of both Advaita and Dvaita, and nowhere is the difference between these schools more distinctly seen than here. It is also significant to point out that the two schools have here a common meeting ground and this, therefore, is a further confirmation of the fact that the Dvaita school is but a necessary supplement to the Advaita school. A local study in the place of its origin and the traditions of this unique family, I mean Kāvu Mana, will help us to a considerable extent to reconstruct the environments in which this seer spent his life and had his being. But these I must preforce leave

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to take up on a future occasion. With these cursory words, I shall pass on to one of the greatest of world's philosophers, I mean Śrī Śaṅkarācārabhagavatpadācārya to briefly glance at his life and work.

The Malayalis have their own version of the life of the seer of divine wisdom. I have also been able in the course of my archæological researches to come across a small Kāvya, called 'Śaṅkarācārya-Caritam', embodying the Malayali version. The work is written by one Govindanātha Yati, probably a Sannyāsin, but decidedly a Malayali. He may probably be identified with the Govindanātha of *Karikāṭ grāmam*, the disciple of Rama Warriar, who has written the Yamaka-Kāvya-Gaurikalyāna. There is in it neither the frenzied flight of imagination, nor the pompous exaggeration, but it is characterised by a native simplicity, which fits but too well with the greatness of the theme. The contents of the work are, in the words of the author, as follows :—

nibandhanam idam puṇyam adhyāyanavakānvitam/
karomi yativaryasya nideśaṃ samupaśritaḥ/
kathāsaṃkṣepa evādye dvitīye' dhyāya udbhavaḥ/
tṛtīye vyāsasallāpas turye prākśiṣyasambhavaḥ/
śureśvarasya śiṣyasya sannyāsaḥ pañcame tataḥ/
ṣaṣṭhe tu hastāmalakatroṭakābhikhyaśiṣyayoḥ/
saptame muktidāyinyāḥ kāñcyā māhātmyakīrtanam/
rāmeśvarakathākhyānaṃ sarvapāpaharaṃ tataḥ/
sarvajñānanidhes tasya śaṅkarācāryayoginaḥ/
navame paramānandasāyujyam anuvarṇitam/

In the contents of the work, as also in the general tone, the author has preserved an epic style. The date of the work and the details of the author are not yet available. But from the general tenor of the composition, one inclines to assign it to not later than the 17th century.

The revered Jagat Guru was born of a devout couple, originally hailing from the Panniyur Grāmam[1] and then living at Kalati on the banks of the Alwaye River. Then

sevyamāno mahādevas tābhyāṃ bibhrad dvijākṛtim/
ātmānaṃ darśayāmāsa tasmai svapne kadācana/
kiṃ tvaṃ vāñchasi vipreti supṛṣṭhena dvijanmanā/
kāṃkṣāmi putram ity uktaś śambhuḥ provāca taṃ tadā/

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1 Vide the statement in Śivarahasyam
'Kerala śalalagrāme viprapatnyāṃ madaṃśajaḥ'—iti.

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putraṃ sarvaguṇopetam ekaṃ sarvajñam eva vā/
apīcchasi bahūn putrān viparītān mahīsura/
evam ukto mahīdevas taṃ dvijaṃ punar abravīt/
ahaṃ vāñchāmi sarvajñaṃ putram ekam guṇākaram/
ittham ukto babhāṣe taṃ dvijaveṣo maheśvaraḥ/
tathaivāstu suto dhīmān sarvajñas tava bhūsura/
tvaṃ gaccha gṛham ity ukta starasā pratibudhya saḥ/
svapriyāṃ vipravaryas tāṃ svapnavṛttāntam abravīd/—iti.

It will thus be seen that the blessed Śaṅkara was born under divine auspices and under divine inspiration. He lost his father before he was five years old, and he conducted the Śrāddha ceremony of his father, as does every Nambutīri now, for a year, and then had his Upanayana ceremony performed. After this he devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, till his 16th year, and it is only after this that he left his native land and went to Benares to get himself ordained. According to our tradition, and as recorded in this work, the great seer had his complete education in the land of his birth and had the stable foundations of his wonderful intellectual attainments laid in Kerala. Again, our tradition makes it out that the great spiritual leader came back to his native land to lay down his mortal remains. After ascending the Sarvajñapīḍham at Kāñcī and after worshipping at the holy shrine at Rāmeśvaram, he turned his steps to his native land. Here the seer of divine wisdom saw that his end was near and gladly prepared himself for the inevitable. I shall not better describe the last moments of the Revered Guru than in the words of the author :

mahānubhāvaḥ svaiḥ śiṣyaiḥ pratasthe śaṅkaras tataḥ/
tataḥ kṣetrāṇi punyāni tīrthāni ca niṣevya saḥ/
krameṇa śiṣyasaṃyuktaḥ vṛśācalam avāptavān/
tatra dakṣiṇakailāse nivasann ekadā guruḥ/
jñātvā nijaśarīrāntaṃ sahaśiṣyaiḥ prasannadhīḥ/
kāsāre paścime snātvā natvā tratyam īśvaram/
śrīmūlasthānam āsādya cakre tasya pradakṣiṇam/
gopureṇāntar āviśya kṛṣṇaṃ natvā yatīśvaraḥ/
vāhanendraṃ purārāteḥ gatvā vṛṣabham ānamat/
keralāvanikartāraṃ hartāraṃ sarvabhūbhṛtām/
so'namat bhārgavaṃ rāmaṃ nṛṇām avanatatparam/
nṛttam bhagavataḥ śambhor natvā nataphaṇīśvaram/
uttareśam umākāntaṃ pārvatīṃ ca vināyakam/
yathāvad vandanam kṛtvā maṇḍapeṣu nanāma saḥ/

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bahūni stotramukhyāni devatritayavandane/
cakre śrīśaṅkarācāryaḥ bhṛśaṃ bhaktisamanvitaḥ/
... ...
yadakārṣam ahaṃ pāpaṃ tat sarvaṃ hara ! saṃhara/
devatrayam iti stutvā bhāṣamānaṃ vṛṣācale/
śiṣyaiḥ saha mahāyogī pradeśe kutracid guruḥ/
niviṣṭaḥ suprasannātmā sarvam āpādamūrdhajam/
yathāvat cintayāmāsa vaiṣṇavaṃ rūpam ādarāt/
... ...
viveśa paramānandaṃ bhānubimbāntarasthitam/

It will be clear from the above quotation that the Jagat Guru spent his last moments in the sacred temple at Trichur, and his remains are deposited in the spacious Matilakam of this temple, the exact site being marked out for posterity by the erection of flat, carrying the symbols of Mahāviṣṇu and this version is supported also by a persistent tradition. This view is again borne out by a piece of indirect evidence. Parameśvara of the Payyūr Mana, we have already referred to, says that his family is descended from Maṇḍana Miśra, or Sureśvara, as he is called in later life. The presence of Sureśvara's family near Trichur lends additional weight to the view set forth above. And the holy presence of the mortal remains of the venerable Jagat Guru is probably the main reason why this temple has come to be regarded as one of the most important in all Kerala.

For the rest, our version does not materially differ from that of others, except in this that three out of his four principal disciples are Keraliyas, Padmapada being a Nambutiri Brahmin, belonging to Alattur Grāma, Viṣṇuśarmā by name. I shall not further dilate on this topic, but shall conclude with the statement that the Jagat Guru was a subject of the kingdom ruled over by the Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam, the present Cochin Royal family, and that the king at the time of the seer was Rājarāja according to our author, who before long was succeeded by Rājaśekhara, the great poet and dramatist and the contemporary of the Revered Seer.

One particular incident in the life of the Jagat Guru I cannot help referring to here, especially because that gave him the opportunity to interfere in the social order of the Malayalis which is probably the most unique of its kind. The incident I have in mind is the cremation of his beloved mother. Branded as a revolutionary for his new philosophy, Śaṅkarācārya at this time was not very popular amongst the local leaders, with their love for the old and traditional. Natu-

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rally, therefore, they did not co-operate with him and help him to give a proper and religious cremation to his mother. He was thus forced to do it all by himself and in his own way. This was one reason which turned him to evolve a new social organisation for Kerala. It might also be that he addressed himself to this work, because he was probably one of those who believed that a nation's spiritual advancement directly depended upon its material prosperity and that the true and genuine philosopher must not merely lay down rules for the former, but try to ensure the latter also ; and the particular incident gave the needed oportunity. Naturally, therefore, he took up this work and did it in the superb way, so characteristic of himself. That a philosopher of his intellectual calibre, that a seer of his divine wisdom, that a Bhakta of his spiritual attainments, always steeped in the visions of the supreme Godhead, should have turned his attention to the work of recasting and reorganising a social edifice, may at first appear incongruous. But it deserves to be remembered that it is not given to all to found a beneficent and enduring social edifice; it requires the true vision of a philosopher, and it is possible only for spiritual authorities like the revered Śaṅkara to do it. Whatever be the motive, whatever be the incongruity, there is a unique social edifice set up by the revered Jagat Guru in the land of his birth—a social edifice with its numerous Anācārams, as they are called, with its numerous rules and regulations to guide mutual social relations, which are radically different from those obtaining in Hindu societies elsewhere and which, therefore, stands unique by itself. And it is this edifice that is directly responsible for all the achievements of the Malayalis. The founding of this new social order, a grateful nation has commemorated by founding an era, the Kolla Varṣa, which starts from the date expressed in the chronogram '*Ācāryavāgabhedyaḥ*'.

The few historical peeps that we get of Kerala lead us to presume that the period of the Jagat Guru was a period of great religious turmoil and unrest in the land and that the society stood in need of an eminent social legislator. The popular religion of the land, Buddhism, was in the first place shaken by the incoming of Jainism and when Prabhākara, the brilliant exponent and vigorous champion of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana came, these faiths were suppressed, and the superiority of Hinduism again asserted. Religion colours to a very great extent the social life of the individual, and it is especially so in India, the land of religions and philosophies ; and while it is

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easy to change one's religion, it is not generally easy to change one's social customs and manners. When the venerable Ādi Guru appeared on the scene, the prevailing religion of the land was Hinduism. But it may legitimately be supposed that the social life of the mass must have been not only not full of non-Hindu elements, but also must have been charactrised by a host of divergent faiths and cults, forms and rituals, customs and manners. And these, it is also likely, must have been accentuated through the presence of even non-Hindu religions prevalent in the land, namely Christanity, Judaism and even Muhammadanism. The influence of so many religions, indigenous and foreign, each colouring the social life of the masses in its own way, must necessarily have produced a very confused and complex social order.

The confusion caused by the presence of a diversity of faiths and creeds was only enhanced by the existence of a number of castes and sects and sub-sects even within the orthodox fold, composed of even different racial elements. The result is that the orthodox Hindu fold of Kerala is composed of at least two different races, the Aryans and the Dravidians, the former comprising the high-caste Hindus and the latter, the lower orders, including the untouchables and unapproachables. These three distinct layers are: (1) the Nambutīris or the priestly hierarchy which developed into the wealthy aristocracy, apparently exclusive by nature; (2) the Nairs, the old military hierarchy, later grown into the wealthy middle class, and (3) the unapproachables, the conquered race, the original indigenous sons of the soil who occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. Between these three district layers stand the intermediate sects, the Ambalavisis between the first two, and the professional castes between the last two. And all these sects, the main ones and the intermediate ones, are found again divided up into a number of sub-sects—probably each has as many as 18 sub-divisions with characteristic differences in their social and socio-religious practices. Add to this also the Kṣatriya element, surviving in the branch now known as Tirupads and in the royal families of Kerala. It will thus be seen that we have a diversity of sects and sub-sects, and this suggests some original diversity, racial or religious or professional, the low-caste Hindus bespeaking a racial difference, the Ambalavasis, a religious one, and the sects below the Nairs, a professional one.

Enough now has been said to show that profuse was the diversity prevailing within the orthodox society in the land, and the

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period of the venerable Jagat Guru which witnessed a general unsettling of religions and faiths and philosophies was a period, when there was a great necessity and abundant scope for a complete reconstruction of the social edifice. The complete conversion of even those professing non-Hindu religions, their assignment to certain fixed places in the reformed orthodox Hindu fold, the laying down of rules and regulations to govern the social and socio-religious practices and relations of the various elements constituting the society of old—in other words, the reformation and the re-organisation of the complex, confused and heterogenous theistic society into an ordered, interrelated and homogenous whole with the proper safeguards to maintain the purity of the racial elements possessing a higher culture and to afford opportunity to the lower stock to adequately benefit by the presence of a higher cultured race—such in brief is the work achieved by, and ascribed to, the venerable seer, Śrī Śaṅkarabhagavadpādācārya, a work the execution of which was characterised by the vision of a profound sociologist, moved by a dynamic desire to raise society to a higher and nobler state of existence, mental, moral and spiritual.

This is not the place to go into further details about the peculiarities of our society, especially because I have already referred to a few of these in a previous context. The social structure obtaining in our land is entirely different from the same obtaining elsewere, so much so that *paradesis* have styled our land the land of Anācārams. Of the 64 rules laid down for the couduct of Hindu societies, our Hindu brethren elsewhere have sixty ācārams, and four anācārams, whereas we have, in their eyes, 60 anācārams, and four ācārams. This, I believe, will make sufficiently clear the wonderful originality of our social organisation, as much as it does our great difference in social life, as compared with our Hindu brethren elsewhere. Among the numerous beneficient results, I shall here refer to some. The first is the sense of exuberant religious toleration and the complete absence of religious bias and prejudice. The second, no less important, is the elevation of the non-Brahminical castes to a position of cultural and intellectual superiority with the Brahmins. A statistical survey of original authors amongst us, whether it be in the field of Sanskrit or Vernacular, will reveal the astounding fact that the majority of them are non-Brahmins, which eloquently proves that the Nambutiri Brahmin, often styled as orthodox, bigotted and selfish was different from his compeer elsewhere

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in India. The third is the creation of a leisure class amongst all sects and creeds, with cultural capacities and with opportunities for developing its culture. The fourth result has been to ensure a permanency of wealth, which held out to one and all an adequate supply of all the necessaries of life, and which tended to give the land a stable prosperity.

I have in the preceding section explained that the revered Jagat Guru was not a mere visionary philosopher, dealing in abstruse theories, but also a man of the world and of an eminently practical nature. The practicality of the seer that is seen in organising a beneficent social edifice for the material well-being of the people of his fatherland is also to be found in a perceptible degree in the elaboration of a system of philosophy for the spiritual well-being of the human race.

The one peculiar aspect of this philosophy, the most fundamental, as appears to me, a layman in the field, is that every Hindu cult and creed, every Hindu ritual and practice has, and if need be can have, a recognised place in Śaṅkara's system. The various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, the various religious rites and practices, Vedic, Tantric and Mantric, have all a fixed and allotted place in the system of philosophy elaborated by the Revered Guru, and in accepting this philosophy there is no need for anyone to change or give up one's favourite personal gods, and favourite religious practices. So comprehensive has been this system that even the historically later school of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita can find comfortable berths reserved for them. This school, therefore, appears to be one of the widest, the most accommodative, the most comprehensive, and consequently the most assimilative, of all systems of philosophy ever devised by the genius of a man for the spiritual betterment of mankind. And this aspect has come to stamp itself on the system elaborated by the revered Śaṅkara as a result of the enviroments, religious and social. The seer sees and accepts the diversity apparent in the world, but searches for, and finally postulates, a fundamental unity underlying all this diversity, and, therefore, maintains that the God-soul and the man-soul, the universal soul and the individual soul, are one and the same. He realises the transitoriness of every material and temporal phenomenon and sees absolute permanency only in the supreme Godhead, and, therefore, maintains that there is only one thing that is always true in the whole universe, and that is the supreme Godhead.

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Everything else, everything other than the supreme Godhead is characterised by *Mithyātvam*. But this, be it noted, is a *qualified Mithyātvam*, for he maintains a *Vyāvahārikanityatvam* for the world and its phenomena. In other words, while he claims absolute Nityatvam only for the supreme soul, he willingly assigns relative Nityatvam to the world and its phenomena and this relative Nityatvam continues to exist for one and all of us, so long as we are not blessed with the true *Jñāna*. Thus, until this moment—the supreme moment in the life of the individual, when he becomes blessed with the true knowledge, the whole world is real and permanent, and we have to conduct ourselves as such. It is this aspect of his philosophy, that has given it its all-comprehending nature.

This all-comprehending, all-including character of the philosophy, elaborated by the revered seer which definitely tends to absorb all sorts of differences between various creeds and faiths, cults and practices, is given expression to in an eloquent measure in the life led by the noble seer. Himself a *Jīvanmukta*, yet to set an example to the less fortunate, he appears to have visited every place of worship by which he ever happened to pass, whether the shrine be dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu or Bhagavatī. Though his personal God was Śiva, yet every temple, at least in Kerala, coming down from that remote antiquity does even to-day cherish some sweet memories of the holy presence of the divine seer in keeping up a particular festival or particular ritual, or in chanting a particular hymn of praise, associated with the seer. The revered seer was the highest *jñānī*, the seer and knower of the absolute truth, the truth divine, and as such, was practically above all rites and rituals; yet he is said to have participated, not passively but actively, in all kinds of rituals, Tantric and Mantric, as the occasion demanded, even though his natural predilections were in favour of the Vedic type. Preaching and elaborating a system of philosophy, which insists on *Jñāna* as the sole means of Mokṣa, he is at the same time the author of the treatise, *Prapañcasāram*, which is even to-day the highest, the standard and the most authoritative text-book on Mantric rituals. In his system of philosophy he postulales a *Nirguṇa Brahma*, and yet he always is an *upāsaka* of the *Saguṇa Brahma*, elaborated and conceived in thousand forms. Ever and anon falling into *Samādhi*, the vision beatific, the vision of the supreme Godhead in all its naked truth and glory, he is the ever awake bhakta pouring out, from the inexhaustible fountain of his heart, garlands after

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garlands of devotional hymns which do not appear to have even been rivalled for the ease and elegance of language, for the simplicity and beauty of diction. for the general poetry and sweetness of expression, for the boldness and originality of poetic conception and the loftiness and profoundity of ideas. Himself a Brahmin of the highest social status in Kerala—for he belonged to one of the *Aṣṭhagṛahattil Ādhyans*—he was ever ready to respect and honour the veriest Caṇḍāla, not to speak of a Śūdra, an aspect that is beautifully illustrated in his sweet hymn of praise *Manīṣa Pañcaka*; knowledge, true knowledge, was the sole and only basis of greatness and not the artificial status given by birth in a superior caste, and consequently the Śūdra Vidura, the caste-less Nanda, and the down-trodden Caṇḍāla—these arrest his attention and elicit his encomium. His was a heart filled with the milk of human kindness, and the never failing stream flowed on to all human beings, nay to all life. It was this more than anything else that enabled him, in spite of his being always absorbed in the spiritual world, to see and know the world so minutely as he has done which is so abundantly illustrated by his very brilliant poem, the *Mohamudgaram*. He is thus as much of this world as he is of the other world, as much in this world as he is out of it, as much a practical man as he is a theoretical philosopher. Here, then, is a practical religionist, a visionary philosopher, a devout Bhakta, all combined in one—a supremely unique combination. He is at the same time the highest type of Karma Yogin, the highest type of Jñāna Yogin, all fused into one.

Naturally, therefore, in embracing Śaṅkara's philosophy, there is no need for any one to cast off one's favourite gods and creeds and rituals. Unalloyed devotion i.e., Bhakti, to one's personal God, the due discharge of one's religious duties and observances, the proper performance of one's Upāsanās, with all the elaboration of Vaidic or Tantric or Mantric rituals, these are not only tolerated, but are laid down as an essential necessity, to give the person bound spiritual-wise, the requisite mental purity, which is a necessary prelude for the realisation of the true Jñāna, embodied in the expressiou, *TAT-TVAMASI*, in the wake of which follows mokṣa or final beatitude. The Vaiṣṇavites, the Śaivites and the Śākteyas, the Mīmāṃsakas, the Viśiṣṭādvaitas and the Dvaitas, the Vaidikas, the Tantrikas and the Mantrikas, all these and others yet to come, irrespective of their faith or creed or practice, have a place in the wonderful comprehensive system of philosophy, evolved and perfected by the revered Śaṅkara.

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A Bell-Capital from Bhuvanesvara

Lying beside the tank to the west of the temple of Rameśvara at Bhuvaneśvara is a bell-capital of an early date, which offers interesting addition to our knowledge of early art and architecture in Orissa. It must have, at one time, adorned the top of a pillar like the lāts of Aśoka, and like the bell-capitals of the same lāts it must have supported the sculptured figure of some animal, the practice of setting up figures of divinities in human form on tops of pillars not coming in vogue before the Gupta period.

The earliest specimen of plastic art in Orissa is the figure of the elephant standing guard, as it were, over the edict-bearing rock at Dhauli. It is in the imperial style of Aśoka, characterized by the same naturalism appearing on other examples of Mauryan art, and owes its origin to the artistic enthusiasm of Aśoka. The rock-cut caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri come next in date, and owe much to the initiative of Khāravela, who had marched to Central India and Magadha[1] and had been no doubt influenced by the artistic activities of those regions at the time. This is apparent from the influences of the Mathurā, the North Western and the Central Indian Schools of art, recognizable in the sculptures adorning these caves.[2] To this list we may add the capital illustrated herewith, which undoubtedly had its prototype in the Mauryan phase of Perso-Hellenistic art developed in Northern India.

As in the Mauryan, the bell proper of this capital resembles a flower in its general shape, the height of this portion being about 32″, the circumference near the upper bulging area being about 19′5″. Below the bell is a frieze 5″ high, decorated in relief with the stem of a creeper, with the lotus, the lion, the crane and some fabulous animals appearing between its meanders. Above the bell is a prominent torus about 9″ high, curiously decorated, though the profile of the moulding is not modified. Between this and the animal sculpture, which must have stood above, but which can no longer be traced, is the abacus, about 6″ high with its edges broken off. The surmounting sculpture fitted into the mortise on this abacus is 38″ long × 30″ broad.

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1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 535-37, 600, 602.

2 Ibid., p. 641.

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In spite of its general agreement with the Mauryan capitals, the Bhuvaneśvara specimen has the following peculiarities :—

1 It is not of the buff-coloured sandstone of Chunar usually employed by the Mauryan artists but of a coarse-grained stone rather gray in colour.

2 Unlike the Mauryan capitals it is not of the same block of stone as the animal sculpture which must have stood above it.

3 Unlike the Mauryan capitals it has a sculptured frieze on its lower edge below the petals of the bell. And this frieze consists of a meandering creeper somewhat resembling that on the coping of the Bhārhut rails, the figures in the panels being in an advanced style of modelling approaching in feeling for line and sense of movement the sculptures on the Mahābodhi rails.

4. The leaves or petals. which decorate the bells of the Mauryan capitals, consist of an arris in the middle enclosed between borders of semi-circular cross-section, the inter-spacings at the bottom being filled up only by short arrises resembling the pointed ends of leaves, while the Bhuvaneśvara capital has additional reeds between the petals with the ends drawn into points like arrow heads, a form peculiar itself.

5 The torus moulding between the bell and the abacus varies in its decoration from the rope pattern appearing in the same place in some of the Mauryan capitals.

These divergences in details of form from the Mauryan prototype are to be explained by the desire to be more ornamental due to the tastes of a time which discarded the chaste restraint of Mauryan art for its plastic attempts. The shaft and capital of the Heliodoros column at Besnagar,[1] the fragments of capitals and shafts of octagonal pillars found in excavations of the area west of the Aśoka pillar at Sarnath[2] betray the same taste. Some of the latter, indeed, retain a polish but not of the same brilliancy as in accredited specimens of Mauryan art. Although we have the last dateable instance of the use of the polish in the reign of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka[3] and although the Heliodoros column and the Bhuvaneśvara capital are without polish, we are not quite sure to-day whether its use persisted locally at Patna and Sarnath till a later date. Thus the fact of their being polished, which is true also of the Yakṣa statues of Patna, would

1 Diez, Die Kunst Indiens, p. 12, figs. 3-6.
2 ASIAR, 1914-15. 3 IHQ, Sept. 1927, p. 541.

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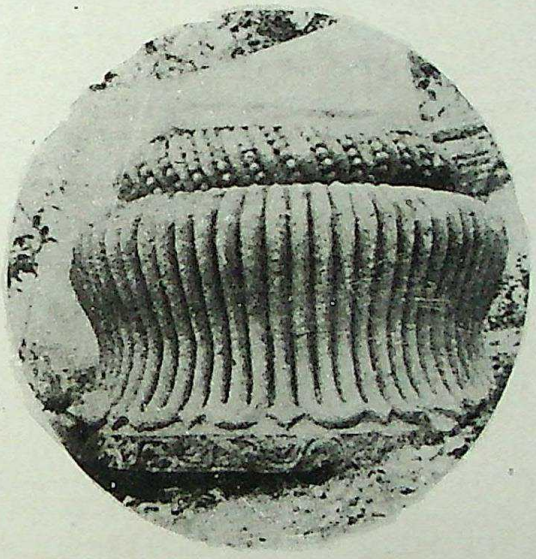

A Bell-capital from Bhuvaneśvara

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by itself not make the Sarnath fragments dateable in the third century B. C. The Bhuvaneśvara capital, then, both on account of its characteristic variations of form and the style of the relief on its lower edge, may be said to have been produced during the early centuries B. C. subsequent to the Mauryan period when the more ornamental early Indian art had been manifesting itself. It probably happened during the 1st century B.C. As James Fergusson justly remarks, "Whatever the Hindus copied, was changed, in the course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own tastes."[1]

Incidentally, this capital throws some light on the problem of the origins of the Mauryan bell-capital. A Persepolitan origin for this had been claimed by James Fergusson,[2] and this view has been since modified by Sir John Marshall,[3] who recognized Hellenistic workmanship in the well known lion-capital of Sarnath. Mr. Havell, however, in his book on "The Himālayas in Indian Art" (ch. I.)[4] contends that the design was "nothing more or less than the attempt of a foreign craftsman imbued with Hellenic ideas, to represent the World Lotus of which the Lake Mānasarovara was the centre and India itself one of the four great petals". In support of his view, he has drawn up the geographical concepts of the ancient Indians from various traditional sources and illustrated his thesis by representations of pillars and capitals from the decorated railings of the stūpas of Sāñchi and Bhārhut having the abacus or the bell ornamented with lotus petals of design other than the Persian. Recently this assertion has been repeated by "Plotinus" in the Rūpam[5] for July-October, 1928, in a review of Rai Bahadur Chanda's memoir entitled the "Beginnings of Art in Eastern India," along with an illustration of a lion pillar on a late bas-relief from Mathurā now in the Lucknow Museum. In the latter, the bell-capital appears to be set off with lotus petals not of the conventional type. For the significance of the Lotus symbol Plotinus and the editor of the Rūpam favour the mystic "*Soḍaśadalapadma*" instead of the "World Lotus" championed by Mr. Havell.

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1 Indian and Eastern Architecture, vol. I, p. 59 (1910).

2 Ibid., pp. 56-61.

3 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 621, 22.

4 See also Havell, Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India, pp. 58, 59.

5 Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

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Leaving the problem of Symbolism to these learned critics who may choose to make of the study of Indian art that of an esoteric cult, we note with interest that the ring of leaves or petals on the neck of the bell-capital from the Sāñchi relief illustrated by Mr. Havell (Ibid., pl. iv), on the Heliodoros column of Besnagar and also on some pillars from the Bhārhut reliefs,[1] have their prototype in Persian art of which the pillar base from the palace of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-358 B.C.) at Susa, now in the Louvre Museum (Paris), is an example.[2] From the standpoint of the Perso-Hellenistic origin theory, it would appear that the Mauryan artist with his severe taste had eschewed this element from his bell while his Suṅga successor reverted to it from a desire for greater ornamental effect.

It is also to be noted that Mr. Havell in the World Lotus hypothesis insists only on the *original Indian significance* of the bell-capital and demonstrates the plastic treatment it had received at the hands of the indigenous Indian artists. He does not call into question the foreign design and workmanship of the Mauryan capitals. And he does not give full consideration to the fact that not all the pillars in the Bhārhut reliefs have bells with petals of what may be called the Indian form, and there are many examples, including the one he cites from Sāñchi in which the petals are more akin to the Persian form. The most convincing evidence[3] in this way comes from the clustered pillars of the "Toraṇa" of the Bhārhut rails which have bell-capitals on which petals both of the Persian and the Indian forms are used simultatneously. And the Bhuvaneśvara capital demonstrates how the variation of the Mauryan form was taking place.

The Indian form may be regarded from Mr. Havell's standpoint as a case of reversion to the original Indian motif or to the *idea*. But why did the Indian artist persist in maintaining the Persepolitian form from the 2nd century B.C. to the early mediæval period,[4] when he was capable of setting forth a living symbol featuring in his faith in forms of his own creation? If the Mauryan petal-form gave only a crude and imperfect expression to an indigenous idea in terms of a foreign tradition, why did not the post-Mauryan artist reject it once for all for plastic and structural purposes? Forms appa-

1 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bhārhut, pl. 30, figs. 3, 4.
2 Sarre, Die Kunst. & Alten Persien, p. 36.
3 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bhārhut, pls. x, xi, xii.
4 Fergusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 60

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rently meaningless may persist in use for decorative purposes, but in this instance the particular form was concerned with a living symbol. These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the Mauryan bell-capitals had their prototypes in Achaemenid architecture and the Indian artist of the Suṅga period came to recognize their superior decorative effect and persisted in imitating them for ornamental purposes or introduced modifications and variations of the type, conforming or not to the general shape and lines of the Mauryan originals, as suited his fancies. The late Mr. Vincent Smith remarked justly[1] indeed: "India, of course, has borrowed many things from abroad during the long course of the ages, but it is a trite observation easily proved by many instances, that she always so transmutes her borrowings as to make them her own. Such transmutation is equivalent to originality." But in spite of these variations and modifications the persistence of the bell-capital in the Gupta and the post-Gupta period indicates that enthusiasm for the superior Mauryan creations did not wane for a long time to come. Fa Hien (405-11 A.C.) mentions, in fact, in his itinerary the admiration he and his Indian contemporaries of Pataliputra had for the works of Aśokan art.[2]

We have now to find out the manner in which this movement of Persian and Hellenistic traditions of art towards India could have taken place. Important evidence comes from Taxila in the north-west, which must have formed an intermediary in the contact of cultures between India and the west in the ages past. This consists of two fragments of pottery,[3] one a handle, and the other, from the side, probably of the same vase. They are "of grey clay burnt to red on the outside and covered with black paint," discovered in the Bhir mound, Taxila, the uppermost stratum of which is dateable at the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. "These two fragments," says Sir John Marshall, "derive especial interest from the conventional leaf design and 'bead and reel' moulding, obviously classical in character and reminiscent of the capitals of the Aśokan pillars, but still more from presence of the head in rough relief at the base of the handle which appears to be the familiar head of Alexander the Great, wearing the lion's skin." These two fragments of pottery, then, demonstrate

1 History of Fine Arts, p. 7.
2 V. Smith, Early History of India, 1924, p. 312.
3 ASIAR, 1920-21, vol. I, p. 20, pl. xvii, figs. 1, 2.

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conclusively that Persian and Hellenistic traditions were travelling towards India during the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.

As the Mauryan type of bell-capital with its characteristic petals and the animal sculpture above, implies a fusion of Achæmenid and Hellenistic elements, the problem naturally arises, where could this fusion have taken place,—at Bactria as Sir John Marshall suggests, or at Seleukia where the possibilities were greater, or elsewhere? It will be noticed in this connexion that the petals which decorate one of the fragments of pottery mentioned above conform more to the Persian than to the Mauryan type which is derived therefrom. This leads one to the conclusion that *the fusion of Persian and Hellenistic traditions represented by the Mauryan capitals* did not probably take place west of Taxila. So far as evidence goes, up to date, Persian and Hellenistic traditions of art may have met and coalesced at Seleukia and Bactria but Mauryan art represents a new synthesis and we may not expect exactly similar forms elsewhere.

Another class of evidence is furnished by the sandstone discs from Taxila[1] of diameters 4" and 2⅝" respectively, with concentric decorations and a band of elephants in relief, which recall the frieze on the façade of the Lomash Rishi Cave, Barabar hills. The modelling of the animals is in the naturalistic Mauryan style. The discs have a high polish and Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the sandstone of which they are made "probably comes from Chunar where the pillars of Aśoka were quarried." At Harappa in the Punjab, a horizon of the Chaleolithic Indus Valley Culture, the excavation of a mound brought to light a mass of stone fragments, some of which have "the high polish of the Mauryan period," while others were coarsely dressed and were perhaps of later date, 13 feet above the topmost strata bearing remains of the Chaleolithic culture. In this case, however, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni,[2] the learned excavator, does not tell us whether the stones bearing the high polish mentioned above are of the Chunar sandstone commonly used by the Mauryan artist. The Taxila discs, however, in the locality of their find-spot, in their execution, in the division of their field into zones for decoration and in the use of the varnish that was employed by the Persians to preserve the inscription on the rock of Behistun from the ravages of climate, and also in their characteristic material, seem to indicate not only a cultural give and take between

1 ASIAR, 1920-21, vol. I, p. 21, pl. XVII, figs. 29-30.

2 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

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India and her western neighbours, but also imply that the wedding of Perso-Hellenistic traditions, represented by the Mauryan works of art, took place further east, probably at Sarnath and Pataliputra, which have yielded considerable Mauryan antiquities to the spade of the excavator and which continued to use the sandstone from the Chunar quarries for a long time to come.

Along with their ideas of imperialism the Mauryan princes seem to have taken on their art from their western predecessors in the empire. To this they breathed a new sense of design, and infused it with a new vigour. Its products were sent forth towards south-east, as far as Sāñchi, and north-west as far as Taxila, and at the fall of the empire when the art slowly disappeared its stimulus still remained and found response all round the country in the imagination of the people whom it had given their voice, an imagination of a different order.

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

Subandhu or Bānabhaṭṭa—Who is earlier?

The traditional view that Subandhu, the author of the prose romance *Vāsavadattā*—and this seems to be the generally accepted view amongst modern scholars[1] also—is earlier than Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the illustrious author of the *Harṣacarita* and the *Kādambarī*, was challenged several years ago by the late Dr. Peter Peterson. Subsequently that learned savant seems to have changed his opinion in the matter.[2] The lurking doubts do not appear to have been set at rest, and the advocates of the theory once espoused by the learned doctor have found in Pandit R. V. Krisnamachariar (Abhinava Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa,—an

1 Prof. Cowell, Drs. Macdonell, Keith and Thomas and Mr. P. V. Kane all subscribe to this view. Drs. Castellieri and Führer fully emphasise this point and are of opinion that the *Kādambarī* was written with the express purpose of surpassing Subandhu's work. (*Vide* Introduction in Cowell and Thomas's translation of the *Harṣacarita*).

2 *Vide* his preface to his edition of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Bombay Sans. Series), p. 133.

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honorific epithet which links him with that prince of prose writers), a redoubtable exponent, who in the illuminating and elaborate introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (Sri Vāṇīvilāsa Sanskrit Series), has tried to make a strong case for establishing the priority of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Dr. L. H. Gray in course of translating and commenting on the work (Columbia University Press, 1913), has ably discussed a few of the points raised by Pandit Krisnamachariar, but there are a few more, which require a more sifting investigation and which have not yet been fully threshed out. It is the object of this paper to deal with them threadbare and to determine, whether it is possible, in the light of present-day researches, to fix an approximate date for Subandhu so as to put an end to the vexed question.

Before dealing with the prominent and specific issues raised by the esteemed Pandit, it is worth while to enumerate the glaring drawbacks and the alleged faults of omission and commission, which even the upholders of the traditional view (including the late Dr. F. Hall) have seen in the work and which, curiously though, have been picked out by others as demonstrative proofs of the poet's living in a late and corrupt age. These refer to (i) the standard of taste and morals, (ii) the style and diction, (iii) the atmosphere of artificiality[1] and conceit, and (iv) the alleged unsettled and irresponsible nature of the text itself of the work, (v) the verse

सरस्वतीलब्धवरप्रसादश्चक्रे सुबन्धुः सुजनैकबन्धुः ।
प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिर्निबन्धम् ॥

given as a variant in some manuscripts and that in different places has also been thought by some to draw pointed attention to the worthlessness of the attempt, and has even been branded as ungrammatical[2] ; to this has been added (vi) the argument that the verse

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

does not refer to our work, even if that verse formed a part of the

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1 "Graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns," after which, "a reversion to the chastity of sentiment and diction of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa would be a literary miracle, almost, incredible" (Peterson). Dr. F. Hall calls Subandhu 'a specious savage', *Bib. Indica* ed., Intro. (p. 28).

2 Vide notes on p. 358. (अनवधानेऽपि...पुरुषप्रयोगः)। This is practically the sum and substance of Jagaddhara's and Śivarāma's rather stale defence चक्रे —इति प्रासादिकमिति वैयाकरणाः ।

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introduction of the *Harṣacarita*,[1] which the learned editor of the Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Press edition of the *Vāsavadattā* doubts very much.

The first of these objections which was raised by Hall (Intro., Bib. Indica ed., 1859) and which still persists[2] amongst a section of scholars (including even Indian scholars like Pandit Krisnamachariar), has been well answered by Dr. Gray and Mr. P. V. Kane. It must be borne in mind that standards of purity in taste and morals vary greatly in different climates and that no country or age has a monopoly of them. Scholars with a characteristic width of sympathy and imagination like Dr. F. W. Thomas[3] find nothing to feel disgusted with the manner of description of amour and the portrayal of excitant factors (*uddīpana vibhāva*) in Sanskrit literature, and it is improper to ascribe to Subandhu any abnormal violation in this respect. As to the chastity and elegance which the aforementioned scholars find in Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, and the lack of which they deplore in the style and diction of our author, we think that the excessive use of *śleṣas* (paronomasia) and the occasional, though clever, application of *yamaka* (chime), which make for the unnatural and artificial phraseology in the *Vāsavadattā*, have clouded the judgment of critics ; for this is *the one characteristic difference* of Subandhu's prose from that of Bāṇa. But to say that it has disfigured the pages of the *Vāsavadattā* and robbed it of all the charms and delicacies of *rasa* and *vastu* and that there is nothing of this defect noticeable in the *Kādambarī* or for the matter of that, in *any prose Kāvya* of this pattern is a type of partiality which critics should eschew. The statement of a later writer युगे तुरीये यमकप्रपञ्चः, is, as every one knows, an unguarded and unjust charge based on paucity of information[4], which

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1 Such was also the view of the late Dr. Peterson. The point that it is entered under Rājaśekhara's name in *one* anthology (vide Intro., *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*) is not a valid argument for its being fathered on him.

2 'Absolute quagmire of pollution' (Hall). E.g. Keith—*A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 307-08 : For Gray's and Kane's remarks vide the *Vāsavadattā* (Columbia Univ. Press) and the *Harṣacarita* (ed. by P. V. Kane).

3 Vide his appreciative remarks on *Kāvyas* in the introduction to his edition of the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.

4 Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Śivalīlārṇava* quoted in Krishnamachariar's ed. (notes, p. 12) क्षते युगे व्यञ्जनयाऽवतीर्णम्...।

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can be answered partly and evasively, in the words of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalacampū*, thus (Intro., verse 17) :—

काव्यस्यामफलस्येव कोमलस्येतरस्य च ।
बन्धच्छायाविशेषेण रसोऽप्यन्यादृशो भवेत् ॥

and directly and thoroughly by the dictum of that prince of critics, Ānandavardhana—दृश्यन्ते हि कवयोऽलङ्कारनिबन्धनैकरसाः...अनपेक्षितरसाः प्रबन्धेषु । (*Dhvanyāloka*, N.S. ed., p. 151). The text of the *Vāsavadattā* certainly suffers from a good deal of disadvantage, as is evidenced by the variant readings in the two recensions, and by difference of readings amongst texts of the same recension. To take this as an indication of its lateness or lack of popularity is, to say the least of it, uncharitable. The *liṭ-prayoga* चक्रे in the verse सरस्वतीलब्ध..., is not unusual and ungrammatical[1] ; hence the ingenious explanation of commentators (vide Krisnamachariar's ed., p. 358) is uncalled for. Moreover, it is not at all unlikely that the verse is from the pen of a later admirer of the work. To call into question the genuineness of the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो··· in the text of the *Harṣacarita* merely on the evidence of some Mss. of a particular locality is to disprove the corroborated evidence of commentators on the *Harṣacarita*, including most probably Rucaka, the Kashmirian rhetorician of the 12th century and Śaṅkara, who, also, is an early commentator (the author of the *Saṅketa*, published in the Nirnayasagara Press, ed.) and who quotes from, or refers to, early works and authors on *alaṅkāra* only. More than one commentator on the lexicons(e.g., of Amarasiṃha)[2]and anthologist have quoted this verse and ascribed it to Bāṇa. To maintain that the verse does not refer to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* is a device resorted to to be rather easily dislodged, for the qualifying phrase गतया कर्णगोचरम् with its *double*

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1 The use of third person is a common device(शैली)with *śāstrakāra's* and is accepted even in later parlance. Cf. the *Kādambarī*—द्विजेन तेनाचत... धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* चकार सर्वं किल यूद्रको नृपः ।

2 The *Sūktimuktāvalī* ascribes the verse to बाण. Vide Thomas's *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, Intro., p. lvi. Śaṅkara's commentary notes this passage and Śaṅkara is an earlier writer than the anthologist. Vide the glosses on the *Amarakoṣa* by Rāmakṛṣṇa and Vidyāvācaspati under the word कर्ण and शक्ति : Words like सौकर्यम्.....etc. are also frequently noted in commentaries on lexicons and in द्विरूपकोष and illustrated by passages in the *Vāsavadattā*.

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entendre certainly singles out our work as the *kāvya* referred to, because of *śabdālaṅkāras* (particularly *śleṣa*) forming its main characteristic.

Now, to turn to the points raised by the Pandit in the introduction to his edition. These may be divided under two broad heads,—(*i*) matters of opinion, and (*ii*) facts. Amongst the latter, there are some, which are of minor importance,[1] judged from the standpoint of our paper, and which require revision in the light of mature deliberation and up-to-date investigations. These need not detain us. In the introduction to his ed. (pp. xvi-xviii),[2] and elsewhere, *ad nauseum*, he joins the chorus of abusers, accuses our author of bad taste and queer mentality and that because of his self-imposed restraint of use of *ślesas*, which, in his finding, is an unfailing indication of the posteriority of Subandhu to Bāṇa. He conveniently forgets that Bāṇa himself[3] has a predilection for this *Śabdālaṅkāra* and makes light work of the dictum of the rhetorician Daṇḍin (which must have had for its basis, the extensive use of this figure in early and contemporary literature of his time—श्लेषः पुष्णाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम्), and in all probability Daṇḍin was a theorist not very far removed at least in matters of literary standards of excellence and purity from either of these masters. As even casual readers of Subandhu's and Bāṇa's works are aware, there are many parallelisms in expression, atmosphere and employment of devices (e.g., the introduction of the parrot as narrator, of a supernatural steed, of counsels meted out to persons, love-lorn and love-sore, noticeable, of which a fairly exhaustive list is made in Castellieri's paper, and also in Kane's introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. Pandit Krishnamachariar opines that Subandhu has plagiarised the materials of his greater compeer, because, forsooth, Bāṇa cannot do so, being barred by his own statement of condemnation of plagiarisers in the *Harṣacarita*.[4] The practice of the greatest of poets

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1 E.g. Intro., pp. i-ii, तथा चैवमुप·····पंचदशाधिकानि ; p. xxxi, श्रीविक्रमादित्यः····· वर्णते ; p. l, अपूर्वा बृहत्कथा·····सूचयतीति प्रतिभाति।

2 Ibid., p. xvii-xvii, क्रमेण चैवं प्रबलीभवति काव्यार्थचौर्ये·····अयमेव च समयः श्लेषस्य साम्राज्यमनुभवितुम्·····श्लेषस्य····· ; p. lx, एकासनम्···अभवत्···

3 सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः।...*Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, I, 41. Vide also Introduction, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.

4 सन्ति आन इवासंख्या Intro. verses. अन्यवर्णपराहत्त्या वन्द्यचिद्वृ···(verse 6)

Pandit Krishnamachariar, who has made much capital of the difference in quality and literary output of the two writers, cannot reconcile

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in the world, and the apposite maxim of that early theorist Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti* अरोचकिनः सहृदयाभ्यवहारिणश्च कवयः (I. 2. 1) and the corollary to that rule as embodied in the practical precepts पठेत् समस्तान् किल कालिदासकृतप्रबन्धानितिहासदर्शी of Kṣemendra and नाचीरः कविः स्यात् of Rājaśekhara the celebrated poet and poeticist form fitting answers to his assertion. The statement that the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो[1]—which he subsequently dismisses as a spurious one—cannot refer to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, because, from the context, the reference is to an *ākhyāyikā* and it is not ascribed to Subandhu, whereas Subandhu's work is a *kathā*, requires but a passing notice. There are many who opine that the context-reference (sc. *ākhyāyikākārāḥ*) is not binding ;—Bāṇa might have been thinking of the whole lot of prose *Kāvya* writers. While granting that Pandit Krishnamachariar's surmise is just up to expectations, one can differ from him in his conclusion. The surmise that Bāṇabhaṭṭa might have been referring to the *Vāsavadattā* (*ākhyāyikā*), known to the Bhāṣyakāra-Patañjali, must be dismissed as a wild conjecture ; the *Vāsavadattā-nāṭyadhārā*,[2] conceding that it came from the pen of one Subandhu, could not have been the work referred to by Bāṇa, because it is not an *ākhyāyikā*, and primarily because it cannot by any stretch of imagination be the subject of the meaning intended in the *double entendre* गतया कर्णगोचरम्. We do not find any harm in describing the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu as an *ākhyāyikā*, as it has been described by certain commentators and in some manuscripts,[3]

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how a first rate poet like Bāṇa could condescend to imitate a second rate writer like Subandhu. But one may remember the popular maxim क्षीरवद् दुग्धुलादपि. It is often the unexpected that happens.

1 Intro., p. xxxvi, वाणेन हि स्मृता···विभिन्ना ; p. xxxvii, हर्षचरितेऽपि···नामानुल्लेखेन··· ब्रूमः ; p. xxxviii, किं च···दृश्यते ; p. xxxix, तथा च 'कवीनाम्'···प्रभवामः ।

2 Vide the paper on the *Avantisundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin—published in the proceedings of the *Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922. While it is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge whether the prose *Avantisundarīkathā* (published by M. R. Kavi) is actually a composition of the famous Daṇḍin, the fact cannot be gainsaid that it is written in almost the same style as Subandhu's work and indulges in समङ्ग श्लेष. Cf. तरङ्गमयी भूपताकया··· इन्दीवरमयी and कामुकैरिव रचित-प्रियालकैः (p. 4).

3 Vide Hall's introduction and footnotes towards the close of the text.

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for, obsessed as we are by the definitions and the very small number of types of *prose-kāvyas* instanced in later *alaṃkāra* works, we have no guide to help us in fixing the nomenclature of *prose-kāvyas* of old. To us तत् कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता of Daṇḍin is a more reliable plank to stand on. Hemacandra, the well known Jaina rhetorician, calls the *Vāsavadattā* (our *Vāsavadattā* surely) a *campū*,[1] and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in his *Ṭīkāsarvasva*[2] quotes from an unknown Alaṅkara work [is it *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ch. xii.) of king Bhoja ?], which also acquiesces in that view. Thus there is no unanimity even amongst rhetoricians of a later age. Moreover, the fact that the साङ्का, सोच्छ्वासा, सवक्त्रा *ākhyāyikā* of Bhāmaha and his predecessors[3] is not much different from the species we find in our work is evident from a casual reference to Subandhu's idea about an ideal poem,[4] The inclusion of the *Damayantī-kathā* (*Nalacampū*) and of the *Vāsavadattā* in the same category, even by later writers on poetics, lends weight to the assumption that the *aṅka* and *ucchvāsa's* might be undetected in a work ; and it is not at all difficult to lay bare some scheme of division and find out the *aṅka* or mark.[5] In the absence of other well known works belonging to these *genera* the violation of the principles आख्यायिकोपलभ्यार्था प्रबन्धरचना कथा (Amarasiṃha) and इतिहासाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् (Bhāmaha) need not scare us from such a position. The unsympathetic spirit of the critic has evinced itself in his scathing condemnation[6] of the description of Kusumapura. The custom

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1 Vide *Kāvyānuśāsana*, N. S. ed., ch. viii, p. 340.

2 आख्यायिकैव साङ्का सोच्छ्वासा दिव्यगद्यपद्यमयी ।
सा दमयन्तीवासवदत्तादिरित्युच्यते चम्पूः ॥
(सांका स्वनाम्ना अपरनाम्ना वा चिह्निता)

3 The *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha, ch. I, 25-27.

4 P. 238, (Krisnamachariar's ed.), दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुलं सुश्लेषबन्धघटनापटु सत्काव्यविरचनमिव. It is difficult to resist the temptation to surmise that the poet was thinking of his own work. Pandit Krishnamachariar agrees with us in this surmise of ours. He says :—उक्तैर्विशेषणैः कविना गद्यकाव्यं विवक्षितमिति स्वयन्त्रत्वात्र मनसि कृत इति च प्रतीमः (notes, p. 239).

5 One of such *ucchvāsa* divisions will be like this (The references are to Hall's edn.) :—pp. 1-43, 44-82, 82-108, 108-135, 135-163, 163-192, 193-240, 240-end. The ending of these in each case is a लिट् third person singular (like विरराम, उज्जगाम, आजगाम, निर्जगाम, निनाय), having almost the same meaning.

6 Vide Introduction, p. lvi.

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of poets and the actualities of real life form safe guarantees in the matter. When the pandit rushes to exemplify the indebtedness of Subandhu to Māgha and Bhavabhūti,[1] he bases his conclusions on looser and more slippery foundations. One who has carefully studied the *Vāsavadattā Kāvya* cannot but be convinced of the influence it exercised on later writers, especially when they were out in their chase for *yamakas* and *śleṣas* (e.g, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhacarita*, Mankhaka in his *Śrīkaṇṭhastava*), so much so that Subandhu's work became an object of universal adoration[2] and was largely drawn on by commentators on lexicons, when they had to explain the forms of doublets and judge about their correctness. Certain it is that the leaning towards this very prose style of *śleṣas* in its excess and exuberance did not find favour with many later *prose* writers,[3] so much so that Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who, even in the opinion of Pandit Krishnamachariar, based his *Nalacampū* on Subandhu's work and who in the minds of later lovers of literature, became almost identified with his greater master in the use of *śleṣa*,[4] while eulogising Bāṇa in the commencement of his work, has not even a reference to Subandhu

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1 That Subandhu was prior to Bhavabhūti follows from the manner of reference to Subandhu's composition in the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, a contemporary of Bhavabhūti (v. 800), सौबन्धवस्मि वन्धे। Here the Pandit follows closely the view of Dr. F. Hall (vide p. 37 Intro. "a string of metaphors for some of which, if they were not immemorial common places, he may have laid Bhavabhūti under contribution)." Only he is less guarded in his surmise than the western scholar.

2 Cf. सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्नः of Rājaśekhara. Cf. सदानत्यागो··· of the rhetorician Udbhaṭa in the verse अविधदेहशरीरः...and व्यासो महाभारतसर्गयोग्यः (*Naiṣadhacarita*, vii. 95).

3 Cf. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः.....and वर्णयुक्तिं दधानाऽपि·····, (verses 15 and 16 in the introduction to the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla).

4 In literary circles सभंग श्लेष, as a class, became associated with the name of Subandhu.

जीयात् गद्यसुधाधन्याः सुबन्धुः प्रभवाचलः।
यद्वक्रश्लेषमासाद्य भङ्गः कविभिराश्रितः॥

Veṇīdatta in his anthology (*Padyataraṅgiṇī*), compiled during the reign of Shah Jahan, ascribes the verse अचमाला.....वन्दनीया समेखला। (verse 5 of the introductory part of the *Nalacampū*) to Subandhu out of sheer confusion between the two writers.

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and that Vāmana, whose time the Pandit has fixed as the lower limit for Subandhu's date, quotes (I. 3. 25) a couple of lines of Subandhu's prose, in a manner that it is difficult to decide whether he is not quoting from the *Harṣacarita* (*Ucchvāsa* vi).

Amongst the second type of arguments utilised by the Pandit, the absence of a proper plot, so to speak (Introd., x, xiv), the inconsistency and the weird absurdity characterising its whole course (pp. lvii, lviii),—and the abruptness of the conclusion—which comes in a fit of nervous hurry (p. lxv) form the burden of charges levelled against the subject-matter, its arrangement and progress. The charges framed are substantially valid, but it must be confessed that Sanskrit prose-*kāvya* writers, at any rate (not excluding Bāṇabhaṭṭa), are not clever inventors of plot. The more than occasional digressions in the form of description—and what court-epic (*kāvya*) is there that has not fallen an easy victim to this hobby—cover the major portion of the work. It would be bold to hint that this fancy—a fancy indulged in more than in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's work—is an index of the comparative lateness of our poet. It would be more reasonable to think that Subandhu employed himself in writing a prose-*kāvya*, in which the inseparable accessories laid down by theorists[1] were all present, but the real feeling-element, that invests it with life and light, was of subsidiary importance. It was a *kāvya* written to explain and exemplify the technique of the *rasa*-paraphernalia and nothing more. Bāṇa was a perfect artist and had a rare mastery over the gamut of human feelings. Subandhu certainly is no peer for him. But what data have we here to infer that he was trying to imitate Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and, being unable to do so, failed signally ? The charges of his similes being हीनोपम, अधिकोपम or असम्भव (Intro., pp. xx, xxi) are not peculiar to him—they can be levelled with similar precision against his greater rival even.[2] The richness of vocabulary, the wealth of description and the

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1 Compare and contrast with Bāṇa, of whom Cowell and Thomas rightly observe :—'Bāṇa is not a mere rhetorician.....He was by no means the mere lover of what was abstruse and difficult, he had also an eye for the picturesque and the pathetic.....'.

2 The औचित्यहानि also, so incessantly complained of in the Introduction, is not peculiar to Subandhu alone. Cf. the remark in the *Tilakamañjarī* (verse 18) :

सत्कथारसबन्धेषु निबन्धेषु नियोजिताः ।
नौचित्यिव भवन्त्यर्थाः प्रायो दैरस्यहेतवः ॥

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frequency of mythological references are the distinctive characteristics of the prose-*Kāvyas* ; still they are Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *forte*. Pandit Krishnamachariar has taken some pains to prepare an almost exhaustive list of Subandhu's accomplishments with jugglery of words, only to show that he has used certain words and peculiar references with which he makes a poor show ! Says he :—

बाणवत् शब्दप्रपञ्चसाम्राज्याभावेऽपि नायं हठादाकृष्टानां कतिपयपदानां रचयिता (p, xxiv), सम्यक्षे विमृश्यमाने च सुविपुलमेव श्लेषकोलाहलमारचयतोऽस्य सुबन्धोस्तत सहायाः प्रायेण कतिचन शब्दा एवेत्यवगम्यन्ते (p. xxvii). To this it may be said in reply that Subandhu was heedless in the matter. In the matter of *śleṣa* composition, as evinced in his *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and for the matter of that, other poets too, had to deal with the selfsame commodities. Any comparison between the two is out of the question, and to deduce the indebtedness of the one to the other on this score, as on the score of waning of taste because of use of *śleṣa* is achieving an impossible feat. The Pandit follows a wrong principle and has thrown all logic and historic sense to the winds when he puts forward his arguments for establishing priority with the statement :

किंचैवं सति वीरनारायणचरिते विद्यमानात् वामनबाणपद्यात् सेतुस्वत् बाणादर्वाचीनत्वं सुबन्धोः केन वार्यतम् । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा भवतु पुनरुभयोरप्यनयोः । (p xli),··· किं च यावङ्गभूतिनाटकं प्राचीनेषु बाणादीनां प्रबन्धेषु न खलु दृश्यते तावान् बौद्धमतोपरि प्रद्वेषः यावानस्ति वासवदत्तायां प्रदर्शितः सुबन्धुना ।··· इतोऽपि वदामो वयं बाणादर्वाचीन एव सुबन्धुरिति । (p. xlv) That an amount of bias against the poet and his self-imposed manner of composition could be used as a measure of oldness is no critical canon, but it is this which has been frequently called into service by the editor.[1]

We take our stand mainly and primarily on the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो भूनं वासवदत्तया and do believe that this finally decides the priority of Subandhu to Bāṇa. Over and above the sense as expressed through the simile of the *Mahābhārata* lore (viii. 4720), we do think that there is a well-nigh transparent implication contained in the simile. And it is like this :—As the sons of Pāṇḍu ultimately triumphed and Karṇa succumbed to Arjuna's blows, so there may come a time when some poet [Bāṇabhaṭṭa like Milton must have been meditating over some work (viz. his *Kādambarī*), which would defy competition and which "posterity would not let die."] would surpass this and reap

1 Vide Intro, p. xxxvii किं च रसभावनिरन्तरवचनचतुरो बाणसदृशः कथन महामतिरतिक्रूरशब्दर्थितवाग्विसर्गमविशालमतिं सुबन्धुसमानमन्यं कविमात्मना प्रशंसतीत्येतन्न खल्वाकमवतरति श्रद्धापदवीम् ।

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untold renown. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* (Intr. closing verse)[1] there is a similar palpable hint. Dr. Castellieri's paper in the Vienna Oriental Journal[2] seeks to prove that Bāṇa wrote the *Kādambarī* especially to surpass Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*—and this becomes probable in the light of the sense we have hinted at above. The tradition mentioned by a commentator on the *kāvya* and expressed in the verse quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara Dāsa,[3] stating that Subandhu was the pioneer of सभंगश्लेष in *kāvyas* strengthens our position, for we find in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *śleṣas* also instances of that type.[4] Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (iii. 17-20) seems not to know anything of this type, while Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* distinguishes between भिन्नपद and अभिन्नपदश्लेष. The prevalent *ālaṅkārika* creed of Subandhu, or of his age, seems to have been almost identical with that propounded in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha,[5] though he had some predilection for सौशब्द्य (Bhāmaha, I. 15), as if out of affinity with the left wing, the गौड़ीय, a fondness for which is conspicuous in his verses—हरिखरनखर...पश्योदंचदवांचदंचितवपुः... उत्कण्ठोऽयमकाण्डचण्डिमपटुः[6] (Krishnamachariar's ed., pp. 114-116). Considered in this manner, Subandhu may be roughly placed in the interval between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin—a conclusion which is irresistibly forced on us when we look at the controversy raised in the *Kāvyādarśa*, etc. *re.* the alleged fineness of distinction between *kāthā* and *ākhyāyikā*. That Daṇḍin knew the *Vāsavadattā* (he knew also the *Kādambarī*) is evident also from his classification of the figure विरोध into सश्लेष and नियमवान् (the परिसंख्या of later writers) and from his examples अच्युतोऽप्यहषीच्छ्रीदो...निस्त्रिंशत्वमसावेव धनुष्येवास्य वक्रता,[7] which seem to be reminiscences of passages in the *Vāsavadattā*.

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1 द्विजेन तेनाचतकण्ठकौण्ठ्यया.....
धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ॥

2 V. O. J., I ; see Cowell and Thomas's translation of the *Harṣa-carita*, p. 2, fn. 8.

3 जीयात् गद्यसुधाधुन्वाः.....as in p. 706, fn. 4.

4 E.g. अरण्यभूमिमिव अचतरुपसम्पन्नां.....
दिव्ययोषितमिवाकुलीनां.....(चण्डालकण्यकां) ददर्श ।

5 Cf. सत्कविकाव्यरचनामिवालङ्कारप्रसाधिताम् (p. 303, Krishnamachariar's ed.), सत्कविकाव्यबन्ध (p. 158)—also न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनिताऽऽननम् (Bhāmaha, I, p.3).

6 Cf. Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 80 : ओजः समासभूयस्त्वं तद्हि गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।
पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥

7 Vide *Vāsavadattā* (Krishnamachariar's ed.), p. 149.

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The spirit of the extract अबीजादेव जायते ... (pp. 91-94[1]) has a parallel in the *Dasakumāracarita* of the same author.[2] The passage सा यदि नभः··· (p. 306), contains an idea parallel to that in the verse असितगिरिसमं स्यात् कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे·····in the *Mahimnasstotra*, which claims a no small amount of antiquity. The passage भास्वतालंकारेण श्वेतरोचिषा क्षितेन... (pp. 77) seems to be copied in verses 16 and 17 of the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* of Bhartṛhari,[3] As Bhartṛhari's three *śatakas* contain a few verses, which are taken *verbatim* or adapted from other sources, one may safely conjecture that it is Bhartṛhari, who is the plagiariser. The description of Kusumapura (pp. 123-142) is, to all intents and purposes, the only realistic trait in the work, which, otherwise, is sheer fancy. He gives us a picture of the luxury and badness, the pomp and pride, the sweetness and sanctity of the city, then on the banks of the Ganges. The poet seems to have had a direct acquaintance with it and the picture does not differ much from the idea one would form of the city from the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana and tallies in a remarkable degree[4] with what we find in the four *bhāṇas* चतुर्भाणी, which works, in the opinion of scholars, must be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century A.C. Of the untraced references there are

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1 A parallel idea, though the point is a bit stretched otherwise, is found in the *Viśrutacarita* (8th *ucchvāsa*).....न चावज्ञातस्याज्ञा प्रभवति..... प्रतिहतवृत्तिः··· ।

2 Of later Alaṅkāra writers, Bhoja and Mammaṭa base their example (संग्रामाङ्गनमागतेन .....) of *mūlādīpaka* on the passage यस्य च समरभुवि भुजदण्डेन·····(pp.52-53, Krishnamachariar's ed.). The *Alaṅkārasarvasva* of Rucaka (and following it, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha) quote अविदितगुणाऽपि·····(verse 11, beginning).

3 गुरुणा स्तनभारेण मुखचन्द्रेण भास्वता।
श्रनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां रेजे ग्रहमयीव सा ॥
सुखेन चन्द्रकान्तेन ... ... ।
रत्नमयीव सा ॥

The passage अचेतनानापि मैत्री.....वारिणाचीयते (p. 94) has been as it appears, utilised by Bhartṛhari in his śloka 'चीरेणात्मागतोदकाय हि गुणा दत्ताः.....सतां मैत्री पुनस्त्वीदृशी' ।

4 वेश्यागणेनाधिष्ठितं (p. 133). Cf. the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci (p. 3). It is rather curious that Vararuci's description should tally so much with that of Subandhu, whom tradition regards as his nephew.

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two that may ultimalely be of some avail in giving us a more exact idea of the time and place when and where our poet flourished. The expressions विकचकमलाकरभित्तौ...सन्यारक्तांशुके...पुस्तकसनाथे...स्वधर्ममिव पठति (pp. 318-319). यूरपालहत्तिमिव दर्शितगणि-(ण ?)कारिकाम् p. 314 remain obscure. However, the facts, above referred to, point to the first decade of the 7th century at the latest (earlier than Bhartṛhari)—in all likelihood it could be very near 550 A.C.—as the time of flourishing, and East India (very likely Magadha)[1] as the country where our poet might have flourished.

The occasional references to the Bauddha, Jaina (Digambara Jaina),[2] Mīmāṃsā and the Nyāya philosophical systems prove to the hilt that the non-conformist systems got a crushing rebuff at the hands of a new school of Pūrvamīmāṃsakas, to whose doctrines and achievement our poet seems to attach a great deal of weight.[3] The passage वीडसंगतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्—which, however, is not found in all the manuscripts—(Hall's ed. p. 236) was explained by the commentator Jagaddhara to refer to a work so called and by Śivarāma to refer to a treatise or *śāstra* expounded by Dharmakīrti. The second explanation does not make it imperative that Dharmakīrti or his work was known to Subandhu and accords well with the findings noted above and is not at all unnatural. Moreover, in the long list of

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1 Was our poet associated with the court of Magadha, the land of the *Gauḍādhama* (Śaśāṅka Narendrasena), to use the language of Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* ?

2 Are the references to the Digambara philosophical system in the work to be read as references to the Jaina philosophy in general i.e. to the Śvetāmbara and the Dīgambara views ? Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *History of Indian Logic*—Jaina Systems—for the views of the Śvetāmbara teacher Siddhasena Divākara (480-550 A.C.), who, according to one view, may be identified with *Kṣapaṇaka* of the verse धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामर.....occurring in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* and preserving the association of the *navaratna* group of some illustrious Vikramāditya.

3 For references to this, vide footnotes 2 and 3 on p. xxiii in Pandit Krisnamachariar's introduction. Of the commentators on the *Kāvya*, Jagaddhara is one, who, on his own statement, belongs to a family of *mīmāṃsakas* being sixth in descent from the learned *mīmāṃsaka* and jurist Caṇḍeśvara (viz, the closing verses of his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*. जयिनं गुरुणोक्तयाख्यं ।

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works ascribed to Dharmakīrti, we do not read of a work named *Bauddhasaṅgati*, nor does the church seem to know of its name.[1] The view of some scholars that the revival of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā at the hands of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was instrumental in the first crushing of the Buddhist and the Jaina systems does not appear to us to be at all convincing. The veil has not yet been lifted[2] over the mystery surrounding the period of the figure of the other great Mīmāṃsā teacher Prabhākara, whom one would like to single out as the probably east Indian Mīmāṃsā scholar who did much to strengthen the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā view ; it is a bold view to hold that Prabhākara lived after Dharmakīrti. In any case the existence of an earlier teacher, living in the 5th or early half of the 6th century A.C., who accomplished this is not at all unlikely—for, as Keith remarks in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā System* : 'It does not appear that Prabhākara initiated the views which he became noted for expounding.' There is only one renowned teacher named in the work and that is Uddyotakāra.[3] Uddyotakara criticises in his *Nyāyavārtikā* the views of the *bhadanta* Diṅnāga, who might in all probability have lived in the early decades of the 5th century and allowing an interval of sixty years, it is not unlikely that Uddyotakara lived about A.C. 500. There is also another thing to be noted which goes against these assumptions—and that is a complete absence of reference to the great Śaṅkarācārya or to the views which pass under his name. We have बौद्धदर्शनमिव प्रत्यक्षद्रव्यमपह्नुवानम्[4] in our work (p. 229), but

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1 The term *alaṅkāra* is used in the sense of बौद्धशास्त्र. We have a work called *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.

2 The controversy in this matter has not yet ended. Vide *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, pp. 474-481 for an able advocacy of one side.

3 The view of Dr. Vidyabhusana that "Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries living about A.C. 635" cannot be reconciled with his views expressed elsewhere (in the same work) that 'Bāṇa flourished about A.C. 635' and that 'the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*' when we remember that Uddyotakara is mentioned in the *Vāsavadattā*.

4 Says Śivarāma in his notes thereon :—चक्षुरिन्द्रियगोचरमपि न तु परमाण्वादिवदिन्द्रियद्रव्यमित्यादि————वर्णं। This, however, may serve to distinguish the views of the Buddhist philosophers from those of the monastic Vedanta School as formulated by the great Śaṅkarācārya. But how would we explain away the total absence of any reference to the

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no reference to the similar Vedāntic theory is available. All this strengthens our position that Subandhu must have been living before 600 A.C.

Dr. Gray in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* notes the valuelessness of the verse :

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कंकः।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

in determining the date of the author. Many would choose to differ from him inasmuch as there is just a good deal of likelihood of a contemporary reference in the verse. The terms विक्रमादित्य, नवकाः and सा रसवत्ता picture to us the far-famed king Vikramāditya, known in legend and song, for his patronage of literature in his court, where lived the 'nine gems'—whose simultaneous presence it has long been the fashion[1] amongst orientalists to regard as a myth. There is some farfetchedness, however, in bringing out the meaning of the absence of the nine gems with the present reading, but if the reading be,—as it is found in certain manuscripts written in Bengali character,[2]—नवका विलसन्ति नो चरति the requirements of poetic harmony are better preserved and the 'nine gems'-*cum*-Vikramāditya tradition is given an old literary authoritative reference as its support. Indeed, amongst the 'nine gems' generally counted—and that on the basis of a later work—as living in the court of king Vikrama, the difference in the date of flourishing assigned to the prominent amongst them (particularly between Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira) may be considerable but not insurmountable ; for it is just possible that some (e.g. Kālidāsa) have verged on old age when others (e.g. Vararuci and Varāhamihira) were younglings.

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tenets of this school unless it were that they were not in vogue at least in that form in Subandhu's time ?

1 E.g. Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Keith ('the late and in itself worthless legend of the Nine Jewels,' *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 76). The point that Śaṅku and Vetāla-bhaṭṭa (was he an author on *nītiśāstra* ?) are 'mere names' need not prejudice the theory, for even if they were not well-known writers (which again, is sheer conjecture, in the present state of our knowledge), they might have been farfamed scholars.

2 One of which is preserved in the Kumudinikanta collection of the library of the Govt. College, Rajshahi, Bengal and another in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss. Collection.

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Then, again, it is not at all unlikely that the 'nine gems' were exactly the very nine ordinarily enumerated. The generally accepted view connecting Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya places them at the beginning of the 5th century A.C. With a little stretch here and there, Subandhu's verse may be so interpreted as to imply that he might have been living about a century or half after that time of literary glory and greatness. More than one commentator and manuscript describe Subandhu as the nephew (भागिनेय) of Vararuci, one of the nine gems ; and it is not at all unlikely that this literary tradition had a basis on fact. The 6th century theory of Hoernle and others identifying our great Vikramāditya with Yaśovardhana (*circa* 533 A.C.), which, however, would reduce the interval and add an amount of freshness to Subandhu's lament, cannot, in the light of other incontrovertible facts, be resorted to. If it were possible to be accepted, then the literary tradition that Bāṇa wrote his prose works to emulate and surpass Subandhu would become a historical possibility, for, history describes that Śīlāditya, who was Yaśodharman Vikramāditya's successor (middle of the 6th century A.C.), was actually defeated later (in A.C.606) by Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa. The reading of the Bengali mss. would raise also the controversy regarding Kaṅka or Kaṅkas, about which Prof. B. C. Mazumdar[1] wrote a note some years ago. There is not yet available any satisfactory evidence which would determine with precision the period of the sixteen Kaṅkas, for the account of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (xii. 1. 26-29) is nebulous and vague. One of these Kaṅkas, notorious for their oppression and mal-administration, might have been exercising sway over a major portion of N. India after the downfall of the earlier Gupta kings. But this in the present state of our knowledge can only be regarded as mere speculation. The realistic description of Kusumapura, and the purposive description of the imaginary heroine of the romance as the princess of Magadha, (while the famous *Vāsavadattā* of history and song was a princess of Ujjayinī) might be taken as implying that Subandhu lived near about Magadha and was associated with the court of that kingdom, which, in the light of the verse सा रसवत्ता, was no longer enjoying the privileges of undisputed power.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

1 Vide JRAS, 1905.

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Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(*Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner*)

The most renowned of his disciples was the Arahant Yaśas. When king Mahendra died and king Camasa was installed in the kingship, there lived, not far from the land of Magadha, a Brāhmaṇi Jassā[1] by name who was nearly 120 years old. She had three sons, Jaya, Sujaya and Kalyāṇa. The first worshipped the great god Maheśvara, the second, Kapilamuni and the third, the perfect Buddha. When they became versed in their own sacred books, they wrangled daily in one and the same house. Then their mother said, "Why do you wrangle (among yourselves), since I give you unstintedly food, clothing and all other requisites?" They said to their mother, "We have no quarrel about dwelling and things of that sort; we quarrel in regard to the teacher and his dharma." Then the mother said, "If you, through the power of your own insight, do not know what teacher and doctrine is good or bad, ask some other wise people." They obeyed their mother, and going into different regions, asked people, but were unable to find anything conclusive. When finally they came to the Arhant Uttara, each of them explained his story to him. Both Jaya and Sujaya narrated the praise of Mahādeva, of his destruction of the three cities[2] etc. Although they deprecated[3] Kapilamuni, they praised the greatness of his might. They, did not, in fact, deprecate Śramaṇa Gautama, but they declared him to be powerless, as he performed no penance and was therefore unable to conquer the Asuras. After they had spoken these and

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1 The text has the peculiar form dsh-śa with which I can only compare the names occurring in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, viz., Jāsaṭa (viii. 543); Jassarāja (vii. 536). [The correct references are Rājata. viii. 542 and vii. 535 respectively—Tr.] But perhaps there is some other corruption or something from Jayasenā?

2 I.e. Śiva. Cf. Böhtlingk-Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, under Tripura. [The text refers to Śiva's destruction of the three cities (groṅ khyer) of gold, silver and iron built for demons by Maya in the sky, air and earth.—Tr.]

3 Lit. imprecated, Tib. *mod. pa*—Tr.

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other words, the Arhant answered, "What does penance signify to those whose inner nature is excited through passion? As here the wicked and cruel Dākiṇīs and Rākṣasas act without restraint so must be those blamed whose morality has fallen into degeneracy; those who kill, bind, injure and do other evil deeds, etc., will beyond doubt fall a prey to death; their instigations to kill are very foolish, being similar to the (conduct of) fools who threaten the sinking sun with a cane and exalt themselves boastingly. Listen, moreover, O Brāhmaṇas, to the teaching of the Buddha, who sought the welfare of the world and is without evil; whoever follows him patiently is also called righteous. He continually performed beneficial works, and therefore after attaining full insight, he worked for salvation without doing any harm and induced his followers also to work for good. There cannot be any spiteful talks in respect of Brāhmaṇas as well as Śramaṇas as well as the words heard by others. This is the way of complete virtue. That Ugra likes to dwell in the cemeteries, devours human flesh, marrow and bone, is cruel, and takes pleasure in killing living beings—this is taught by the law of Mahādeva himself. When the basic-text is thus sullied by wrong views and whoever is believingly attached to it indulges continuously in sinful pleasures, what sensible man will have his joy in it? When bravery itself is a virtue, must not the lion, the tiger, etc. be treated with veneration? Pacified state of mind[1] alone is a virtue. This is the primary proposition." When he had repeated to them the five hundred lines of the 'Introduction to the Teaching', describing the difference between virtue and vice, both Brāhmaṇas perceived the truth and became exceedingly believing with regard to the Three Treasures.[2] The Brāhmaṇa's son, Kalyāṇa, however, increased his faith (in the Buddha) still more than it was before. All the three brothers, having formed the same views, went back to their house and spoke to their mother, "As we know the virtue, every one of us wishes to build a temple in which the Teacher's image is to find place. Thou, mother, tell us the place for it." Thereafter, in accordance with the advice of the mother, the Brāhmaṇa Jaya erected a temple at Vārāṇasī[3] with the image (inside it) at the place where was preached the law. Of the vihāras in which the Teacher himself had

1 Tib. *shi-war-sems-pa.* Schiefner translates by 'Sanftmuth'—Tr.

2 i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha—Tr.

3 i.e. the Deer Park at Sarnath—Tr.

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lived, and which, by virtue of the supernatural nature in their essence, were visible through magic, there were at this time no more traces left because of palpable mutilation and other mishaps incidental to living beings. For this reason the Brāhmaṇa Sujaya erected an image and a temple in the Bamboo grove at Rājagṛha. But the youngest brother Kalyāṇa erected the most holy temple with the Mahābodhi at the Vajrāsana Gandhola.[1] The workmen were the divine artists who came down in human forms The workmen who erected the Mahābodhi were divine artists and Kalyāṇa was inside, and they had agreed that no other person should be allowed to come in till the seventh day. When the sixth day came, the mother of the three brothers arrived there and knocked at the door. The people told her, "As now no more than six days have expired, to-morrow the door will be opened." The mother replied, "As I must die this evening and as I alone on this earth have seen the Buddha, others later will not know whether the image of the Tathāgata has or has not the exact likeness, therefore open the door at once." When the door was opened, the divine artists vanished.[2] After looking at the image closely she said that it was wholly like the Teacher except at three points : it was without the streaming forth of light, it was not teaching the law, and it was only in the sitting posture and not in any other of the three postures of the body.[3] It was declared that the image was similar to the real Buddha. As the seven days had not expired, some portions were not completed,some noticed that the toe of his right foot was missing, others said that the curling of the hair on his head was not right, these were executed later on. The Paṇḍitas also

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1 Corrupted from Sans. Gandhālaya. The perfumed room occupied by Buddha is called Gandhakuṭi in Pāli. It generally refers to the room made by Anāthapiṇḍika in Jetavana.—Tr.

2 A similar legend is told by Hiuen Tsang (Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 116) of the construction of the image of Gautama Buddha in the temple to the east of the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā. Mahābodhi here, as in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, I-tsing and other Chinese travellers, is the name of a *Vihāra*, and not of a temple (See Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 118-119)—Tr.

3 Buddha's images are usually built in all four or any one of the four postures, viz., Preaching, Reclining, Walking and Meditating. Some of the recently built temples at Colombo have images of Buddha in all these four postures.—Tr.

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said that the hair of the body, and the robe, which did not touch the body, were not completed. Paṇḍita Kṣemendrabhadra[1] also said the same. On the same evening the brāhmaṇī Jassā vanished out of the present existence without any suffering. When shortly thereafter the brāhmaṇa Kalyāṇa went away to some place, he found one of the self-luminous emeralds. He thought that if he had found it before the erection of the Mahābodhi, he might have made out of it a stone for the eyes, but it was not then found. While he was thus thinking, there appeared immediately a self-formed hole in the place of the eyes (of the image of the Buddha). When the people were on the point of splitting up the precious stone into two parts, there appeared of itself a second one like the first, so they were set in the places of both eyes. In the same manner he found a luminous Indranīla and fixed it in the ring of hair between the eye-brows. Through his magical power illuminating light shone forth in the interior of the Mahābodhi temple continuously through the night up to the time of king Rāthika. The three Brāhmaṇa brothers thereafter maintained 500 bhikṣus in their three Vihāras and provided the whole brotherhood with all necessaries. The fourth section, the events of the time of the venerable Upagupta.

V. Events at the Time of the Venerable Dhītika.

The venerable Upagupta handed over the teachership to the venerable Dhītika. This is his history. In the land of Ujjayinī there lived a sagacious and wealthy brāhmaṇa. He had a son called Dhītika, highly intelligent, wise and upright, and versed in the four Vedas and the eighteen sciences. When his father, full of joy, furnished him with a house and sought a wife for him, he prayed for permission to enter into the priestly office, as he had no desire for a household life. His father said that if he positively wished to become a priest, he should not do it before his death and in the meantime, train up a group of 500 brāhmaṇas. He complied with his father's wishes and by living a life of purity in the house, he instructed 500 brāhmaṇas in the various sciences without any prejudice,

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1 Tibetan sa. dbaṅ. bjaṅ. po; can he be identical with the Kṣemendra mentioned in Burnouf's *Introduction* etc., p. 555? See also, Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 13 where he is mentioned as an author of a table of princes (*nṛpāvali*).

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When his father died at a certain time he distributed the whole wealth of the house among the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, and he himself with a following of 500 betook himself to a wandering life, passed through the sixteen great cities, asking the most famous brāhmaṇas and tīrthikas about the way of the perfect purity of life[1], but he could not obtain a satisfactory answer. Finally he asked the venerable Upagupta in Mathura. There he became very believing, entered into the priestly order and was ordained as a bhikṣu. As Upagupta delivered the seven kinds of instructions, the 500 brāhmaṇas obtained Arhathood in 7 days. The venerable Dhītika gave himself up to the contemplation of the eight *vimokṣas*.[2] He led many distinguished brāhmaṇas of the widely different regions into the most excellent belief in the Buddha's teaching. When the venerable Upagupta delivered to him the teachership he gave admonitions to the fourfold assemblies of the six cities, and greatly propagated the teaching of Buddha, leading all living beings to happiness. At that time there lived in the land of Tukhāra, the king Minara.[3] All the inhabitants of that land honoured the God of Heaven, but they knew no difference between virtue and vice. At the time of their festivals they used to offer to heaven the great smokes arising out of the burning of rice, clothing-stuff, precious stones and scented wood. With a company of 500 Arhants, Dhītika flying through the air went to the place of sacrifice and settled themselves down in the dining hall. The people thinking, that he was the God of Heaven, fell at his feet and offered him riches; but when he delivered the teaching, the king at the head of 1000 men perceived the truth and innumerable men were initiated in the formulas for seeking refuge and the main principles of the teaching. Having lived there for 3 summer months, he increased the number of bhikṣus immeasurably and the result was that a thousand bhikṣus attained Arhathood. Later on when the route between this land and Kāśmīra could be travelled safely, many Sthaviras came from the land of Kāśmīra and the teaching spread yet more. At the time of this king and his son

1 Tib. tshaṅs, par. spyod generally refers to the purity of life in reference to perfect abstinence from female company—S. C. Das's Tib. Dic.

2 See Mahāvyutpatti, lxx, for enumeration and explanation—Tr.

3 It is natural here to think of Menandros. See Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* II, p. 323ff.

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Imasya[1] 50 great Vihāras were filled up with an innumerable crowd of priests. In the east also in Kāmarūpa the brāhmaṇa Siddha who was equal to great king in respect of his riches, brought offerings to the Sun with a company of many thousands. Once when he made offerings to the Sun, the venerable Dhītika showed a magical feat, as he came out of the midst of the Sun's disc and with much light streaming forth he placed himself before the brāhmaṇa, who took the former to be the Sun-god, brought him offerings and showed veneration to him. After the teaching was delivered to him and great faith was roused in him, the venerable Dhītika appeared in his own form. When he again preached the law, the brāhmaṇa perceived the truth, and living full of great faith, he built the Mahācaitya Vihāra, gave a great feast to the brethren of the four regions and spread the teaching of Buddha considerably in Kāmarūpa. At that time the brāhmaṇa Adarpa[2] was exercising the rulership in the west in Malwa without wearing the crown. He killed daily a thousand goats and offered a sacrifice of flesh and blood to the fire. He had a thousand sacrificial altars. He made the brāhmaṇas belonging to his circle to bring goats for sacrifice according to their means and the non-brāhmaṇas to gather materials for the sacrifice. Once when he wished to make an offering of cattle, he invited to the sacrifice the Ṛṣi Bhṛgurākṣasa of the Bhṛgu lineage, gathered two thousand white cows, invited also other brāhmaṇas and procured many other sacrificial requisities. When the sacrifice was about to be performed the venerable Dhītika came to that place. The fire could in no way be kindled to a flame and the cattle could in no way be killed, and the brāhmaṇas, when they wished to repeat the Vedas and the formulas of prayer, could not bring forth any sound. Then Bhṛgurākṣasa said that the performance of the sacrifice was prevented by the craft of the Śramaṇa who was present there. All of them threw stones, clods and dust at him, but when they saw that these things were turned into flowers and sandal powder, they became very believing, showed him veneration and begged forgiveness asking what they should do. The Venerable One said "Hear, O Brāhmaṇas, and let it off, why these sinful offerings? Distribute gifts and practise meritorious deeds, while you yourselves being gods of brāhmaṇa lineage are obliged to perform the duties

1 Might we here think of Hermaios? See Lassen, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

2 Tib. dregas med, "the pride-less," also dregas bral in Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra, leaf. 343.

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of a mother, how can the gods have anything to do with the killing of fathers and mothers ? If the brāhmaṇas cannot touch the unclean flesh of the cow, can the gods be satisfied with the same ? Oh Ṛṣis, away with this sinful law. If you have longing for flesh-food why should you need this fire offering and shedding (of blood). The magical formulas which teach salvation through illusion are only a deception of the world." After he had clearly delivered this and similar teachings, they felt repentance for their sinful deeds, they became ashamed of their conduct, they cast down their faces and being overpowered they asked for a means by which they could restrain their sins. For these purposes they were all initiated according to the teaching of the Venerable in the refuge formulas and the five tenets. On the site of the pleasure grove of the householder Ghoṣavanta there was built a great Vihāra, and they strove for the seven kinds of blessings accruing from the right application of wealth. In this manner did Dhītika spread the teaching very much in the land. Not long before this time King Aśoka was born. Dhītika gradually brought 500 brāhmaṇas to the faith in the three jewels and after he had guided the Buddha's teaching for a long time and worked for the salvation of living beings he gave up the teacher's office to the venerable Kāla,he vanished from the present into the region of Ujjayinī, which was a part of Malwa. The fifth section, the events of the time of the venerable Dhītika.

Svapna-nāṭaka and Svapna-vāsavadatta

In 1912, Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, some thirteen dramatical works, which are attributed to the so-called Bhāsa. These thirteen plays, which are praiseworthy because of their antiquity, diction, plot, phraseology, and other qualities, attracted the special attention of the scholars of Oriental Literature. And as a result, scholars were divided in their opinion about the authorship of these plays and contributed several articles in accordance with their respective views. (1) Some of them have accepted Bhāsa's authorship of these plays, (2) while some others argue that these plays do not belong to the real Bhāsa-muni who is praised by Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and others. (3) A third set of scholars has examined

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the dramas and produced some internal evidence based on prayoga-viśeṣa, Prākṛt language, and the names of places and cities, and fixed the date of these plays as between the first and the third century A. C.

The scholars who oppose Bhāsa's authorship of these plays have adduced many arguments in order to arrive at their own conclusions. Among those arguments, one supplementary question is considered by them as follows : The first and main drama among the lot is designated as "Svapna-vāsavadatta." This desgination is a wrong one, but the real name of the work published by the Śāstrī is "Svapna-nāṭaka." "Svapna-vāsavadatta" and "Svapna-nāṭaka" are different plays. Bhāsa is the author of "Svapna-vāsavadatta"which hitherto has not been published nor is available in any of the libraries even in manuscript form. "Svapna-nāṭaka" is a quite different work from the above, and it must have been written by a Kerala poet to suit the Kerala stage, or it must be in close resemblance to a play that treats of the story of 'Udayana.' The published work is "Svapna-nāṭaka" and there is no evidence to attribute it to the great poet Bhāsa.

It will be clear from the passages quoted below that Professor Macdonell also holds the same theory on this point.[1]

"Some fourteen years ago (1912) there were published in Southern Malabar, at Trivandrum, thirteen Sanskrit plays that were by the editor, followed by most Sanskrit scholars, identified with the long lost works of Bhāsa. The sole basis of this far-reaching identification is that, although all these plays are anonymous, the title of a single one of them, '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' (in one Ms. entitled '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*'), may be the same as that of the only play, '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*', twice mentioned by ancient authorities as the work of Bhāsa. The uncertainty as to the same play being meant by the divergent titles is increased by the fact that a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka* as occurring in the '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*'is not to be found in the '*Svapna-nāṭaka.*' The supposed identity of these two titles is the only clue available as to the authorship of the *Svapna-nāṭaka.* For, contrary to the general practice of Sanskrit dramas, the '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' does not name its author. Thus even this support for the identification of the recently edited Trivandrum play with the ancient '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' of the real Bhāsa is wanting.

The very dubious identification of the Trivandrum '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' with the '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' of the ancient poet Bhāsa. on the strength

1 *India's Past* by A. A. Macdonell, Ch. V-c, p. 103, Oxford, 1927.

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of the possible identity of their titles, but without the support of any corroborative evidence, is made the basis of the much more far-reaching and uncertain conclusion that the other twelve recently published plays are, owing to their great similarity of style and the possession of many passages in common, not only the production of one and the same poet, but that that poet is Bhāsa. Not only are all these plays anonymous, but we do not even know any of the titles of the plays of the ancient Bhāsa except only '*Svapna-vāsavadatta.*' Now the similarity in style of these thirteen plays may very well be due to the peculiarities and exigencies of the stage in Malabar, where alone these plays are known and acted. No attempt at investigation in this direction has yet been made, at least, by any of the western supporters of this hypothesis. Again, many of the views expressed as to the relative merits of these plays are purely subjective, and can have no decisive cogency in regard to facts."

Dr. Śāstrin has edited "Svapna-vāsavadatta" nine times, the first two editions appeared in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series of the Travancore Government. The other editions are publications with his own commentary. For each of these editions, he was able to consult some new manuscripts (secured then and now) from various parts of Malabar. I have also examined several original manuscripts of these plays, which Dr. Śāstrin had no occasion to use for his editions. Dr. Śāstrin makes it plain that none of these manuscripts bear the full name 'Svapna-vāsavadatta.' But all the manuscripts hitherto found possess one or other of the following lines at the end of the work : (1) स्वप्ननाटकमवसितम्, (2) वासवदत्ता समाप्ता (3) स्वप्नाटिकावसिता। On the other hand, two reasons induced Dr. Śāstrin to give the name "Svapna-vāsavadatta" for the work as he clearly states in his introduction.[1] One is a Ms. copy of this drama, which was

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1 "I was able to obtain a complete, though not correct, Ms. of each of the two plays '*Svapna*' and '*Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa.*' This was from my esteemed friend Pandit A. Anantacharya of Mysore, who was kind enough to send me a copy of his copy of the Ms. obtained by him from Kerala. At the end of this Ms. copy of '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' is written स्वप्नवासवदत्तं समाप्तम्. This agrees with what we supposed to be the full name of '*Svapna-nāṭaka.*'" (Intro. to "*Svapna-vāsavadatta,*" 1912, p. xxi. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 15).

"Following the Subhāṣita of Rājaśekhara, this Nāṭaka has been

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copied from an original Ms. of Malabar some years ago, and was in the possession of A. Anantacharya of Mysore. This has been utilised by Dr. Śāstrin. At the end of the work, this Ms. contained 'Svapna-vāsavadattaṃ samāptam." The other is, as Rājaśekhara has mentioned, a drama called 'Svapna-vāsavadatta."

Now, I introduce this note, simply to show that the old name of the work is "Svapna-vāsavadatta" as it is designed by Dr. Śāstrin and not 'Svapna-nāṭaka'.

There is a Ms. in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library called "Śākuntala-vyākhyā"[1] hitherto not published. This is a commentary on Kālidāsa's "Abijñāna-śākuntala." This work is also called "Śākuntala-carccā." As the commentator says at the end of each act इति चर्चितः प्रथमोऽङ्कः, इति चर्चितः द्वितीयोऽङ्कः etc., there is a probability of assuming the name "Śākuntala-carccā" as a correct one. The Ms. is an incomplete one and runs up to the middle of the sixth Act. The work not only comments on the text of "Śākuntala" as the other commentaries generally do, but also makes a comparative study of other dramas, describes the characteristics of actors, discusses many problems of scenic art[2] and quotes authoritative statements from various authors to establish his own conclusion. Regarding the structure of the plot he introduces many alterations and changes in 'Abhijñāna-śākuntala' after comparing it with the 'Śakuntalopākhyāna' of 'Śrī-mahābhārata.' The style of the commentary is simple and sweet. The author of the commentary is not known, but it can be guessed that the probable date of the work is 14th century A.C. The work frequently mentions the following :

(i) dramatical works : Anargharāghava, (Mahā) Vīracarita, Mālatī-mādhava, Veṇīsaṃhāra, Viṇāvāsavadatta, Bālarāmāyaṇa, Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśīya, Prabodhacandrodaya, Nāgā-

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styled '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*.' It can also be termed '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' or '*Svapna-nāṭakam*." (Preface to Ibid.)

1 Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, No. I.33.17, or R. No. 2778.

This Manuscript was transcribed in 1918-19, from a Ms. of Nārāyaṇa Naṃbūdiri of Kūḍalūr Mana, Nārari, Trittala, Malabar District.

2 गुणदोषविभागज्ञाः सदा गुणपरायणाः।
सचेतसो निरीक्ष्यन्तामिदं नाट्यनिरूपणम्॥
(Śākuntala-vyākhyā, p. 1).

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nanda, Cārudatta, Karpūramañjarī, Traivikrama, Bhagavadajjuka, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Pañcarātra, Bālacarita, Ratnāvalī, Svapnavāsavadatta, Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Avimāraka, (Tapatī) Saṃvaraṇa,

(ii) and other works : Nāṭyaśāstra, Sāhityasāra, Bharatasaṃgraha, Śrīmahābhārata, Kumārasambhava, Meghasandeśa, Raghuvaṃśa, Śṛṇgāraprakāśa (Bhoja), Rāmāyaṇa,

(iii) and authors : Bahurūpakamiśra, Rājaśekhara, Dhvanikāra, (Amara) Siṃha, Kāmandaka, Divākara, Yādava, Keśava, Vyaktivivekakāra (Mahimabhaṭṭa), Yājñavalkya, Vāhaṭa, and Kauṭalya.

It is a common fact that in all dramas except the thirteen of the so-called Bhāsa the sentence, नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः, could be seen after the benedictory verse at the beginning of the play. But in the case of these thirteen plays the same sentence is put before the benedictory verse in a peculiar manner. Dr. Śāstrin states[1] that this is the peculiarity of Bhāsa's works, and Bāṇa at the beginning of his 'Harṣacarita' described this peculiarity of Bhāsa's works in a verse in which he praises Bhāsa as a great dramatist. This statement of Dr. Śāstrin is not acceptable because even some other dramas such as 'Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa,' 'Subhadrādhanañjaya' 'Mattavilāsaprahasana,' 'Kalyāṇasaugandhika,' 'Bhagavadajjuka,' and 'Traivikrama' bear the same sentence before benedictory verse. In addition to this I have examined several original Mss. of Śakuntala, Karpūramañjarī, and other works. Some of them bear the same sentence before the verse. On this point the commentator states :

बहुरूपकादिभिरनर्घराघवादिषु प्रथमश्लोको नान्दीत्येव कथितः।... ... ... तत्र तावन्नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधार इत्ययं ग्रन्थः प्रथमश्लोकात्पूर्वं किमुपपद्यते उतानन्तरम् ? उभयथापि दर्शनात् संशयः। (p. 1).

Commencing in this manner he concludes that if the meaning of the word 'nāndī' is 'vādyavādanakriyā', then the sentence must be before the verse, and if it means the benedictory verse the sentence must be after the same verse.

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1 सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः।
सप्ताङ्कैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव॥

Bhaṭṭabāṇa in the above śloka qualifies Bhāsa's Nāṭakas, it applies to these plays, for every one of them begins with the stage direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः।

(Introduction to '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' (1912), p. xxi.

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It is generally seen that at the commencement of dramas the Sūtradhāra enters the stage and then calls his actress for conversation. But in Traivikrama[1] this is not the order adopted. So he says :—

वैक्रमे तु सूत्रधारेण सह नटा: प्रवेश: कथ्यते—तत: प्रविशति सूत्रधार: सह प्रियवेति। तत्र चतुरस्रम्। सूत्रधारेण प्रस्तुताचेपी स्वकार्यविमर्शार्थं समाहूतानां नटीप्रभृतीनां पृथक् प्रवेशो युक्त:। अथेह तादृशकार्याभावात् सह प्रवेश इति मन्यते, तत्साधु। सूत्रधारस्य नाट्यप्रयोगात्मकं स्वकार्यं वचनं च नास्तीत्यपूर्वमेतत्। क्वचित् पुन:—"नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधार: सूत्र—आर्ये इतीये खलु चित्रपटे" इत्यादि दृश्यते। तत्रापि सहप्रवेश: सिद्ध:, अन्यप्रवेशाकथनात्। नटीनटीत्यन्तरा पात्रनिर्देशात्। तस्य च वचनोपलम्भाच्च। (p. 33).

While referring to the discussion whether Prākṛt or Saṃskṛt is to be preferred for the use on the stage by Sūtradhāra, the work mentions Cārudatta as follows :—

चारुदत्ते पुन: सूत्रधारस्यापि प्राकृतम्। तच्चिन्त्यम्। कर्पूरमञ्जर्यां तु युक्तम् सट्टकस्य प्राकृतात्मकत्वात्। (p. 12).

In another place the same work is mentioned thus :—

यथा चारुदत्ते—तत्र द्यूतपवासपारणानिरतनटीप्रार्थनया सूत्रधार आमन्त्रणनिमन्त्रणार्थं कञ्चिद् ब्राह्मणं विचिन्वन् साचाद्यारुदत्तस्य वयस्यं मैत्रेयं दृष्ट्वा उपसृत्य निमन्त्रितवान्। (p. 23).

The following passages are the portions in which Bhagavadajjuka, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Pañcarātra, and Bālacarita are mentioned in the commentary :—[2]

तत्र विक्रमोर्वशीयादौ नारिषं प्रति अस्य (सूत्रधारस्य) स्वकार्यवचनम्। भगवदज्जुकादौ विदूषकं प्रति। अत्र (शाकुन्तले) नटीं प्रति। ननु दूतघटोत्कचादौ नटादिरहितेन सूत्रधारेण स्थापना क्रियते। एकाङ्करूपकेष्वेवमिति चेत्, कथं कल्याणसौगन्धिकादौ अनेकाङ्केष्वप्येवं दृश्यते। कथं पञ्चरात्रे। [अनाटक] एवमिति चेत्, कथं बालचरिते। यद्येवमयं प्रकारोऽस्ति किं त्वेष न साधीयान्। वचनविरोधात्। (p. 14).

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1 *Traivikrama* is a very small drama (prahasana) in one act and is published by K. R. Pisharoti in '*Shamaa*.' The '*Vāmanāvatāra-prabandha*' of Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa includes two verses from this play.

2 *Kalyāṇa-saugandhika* by Nīlakaṇṭha-kavi is published by Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. III, and the same is re-edited with commentary by me in the *Punjab Skt. Series*, but it contains only one act. From this extract we must guess that there must have been a work named '*Kalyāṇa-asaugandhika*' containing several acts which hitherto has not been secured.

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Mention is made of Dūta-ghaṭotkaca alone in another place :—

दूतघटोत्कचे स्थापनायां सूत्रधार आह—

यान्यर्जुनप्रत्यभियानभीता
यातोऽर्जुनस्तां दिशमीक्षमाणः[1]
नराधिपाः स्वानि निवेशनानि
सौभद्रबाणाङ्कितनष्टसंज्ञाः ॥ इति । (p. 24).

तदत्र (दूतघटोत्कचे) सूत्रधारस्य निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतामिति नैपथ्यभाषितं श्रुत्वा । (p. Ibid).

The reference to the Viṇāvāsavadatta[1] is given below from the commentary :—

एवं वीणावासवदत्तादौ "यद्येवमप्यद्य प्रभृति नियमोपवासैर्भगवन्तं महेश्वरमाराध्य तदभिप्रेताय तां (वासवदत्तां) दास्यामि" इत्यादौ द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 28).

The commentary explains the meaning of the word 'Sthāpanā.' In that connection Avimāraka is mentioned :—

नागानन्द-चूड़ामणिप्रभृतौ नव्या सह सूत्रधारेण कृता सूचना स्थापनेत्युच्यते, न तु आमुखमिति । क्वचिदेवमप्युच्यते । यथा—अविमारक-(तपती-) संवरणादौ । मालतीमाधवे पारिपार्श्वकेन सह कृता प्रस्तावनेति कथ्यते, पुनः स्थापनेति कथ्यते अन्यत्र तथापि च कथ्यते । यथा—विक्रमोर्वशीयादिषु । क्वचित् पुनः सूत्रधारेणैव कृता सूचना स्थापनेत्युच्यते । यथा—बालचरित-स्वप्नवासवदत्तादिषु । (p. 30).

The reference to 'Svapnavāsavadatta' from the commentary is given below :—

तथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायां—

एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि । अये किन्नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यये शब्द इव श्रूयते । अङ्कं पश्यामि ।
(नेपथ्ये)

उस्सरह अय्या

इत्यादि । उच्यते—अत्र खलु विस्मरणस्य कारणं विज्ञापनव्यय इति साक्षादुक्तम् । कीदृगिदं विज्ञापनं इति चेदुच्यते—भोः सभासदः साम्प्रतमहं स्वप्नवासवदत्तां नाम नाटकं प्रयोक्ष्ये, तदवधानेनानुगृह्यतामिति ।

These quotations from 'Śākuntala-vyākhyā' are to be found in all

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1 A portion (eight pages) of the first act of the '*Viṇā-vāsavadatta*' is published in the *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Madras, as its supplement. An incomplete Ms. copy of the drama which runs up to the third act is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Some fragment palm-leaves of the first to eight acts of the drama are in my possession. This drama has also a peculiar manner as the other thirteen plays of so-called Bhāsa. It mentions no author or place in the Sthāpanā. The sentence beginning with यद्येवं which is given here is found in the beginning of the play.

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the thirteen plays of Bhāsa. The name 'Svapna-vāsavadatta' is also mentioned in two places. Dr. Śāstrin has given the name in neuter gender but the same appears here in feminine gender.[1] So we may take it that 'Svapna-nāṭaka' is a contracted form of 'Svapna-vāsavadatta-nāṭaka,' as 'Candra' of 'Candragupta,' 'Pratijñā' of 'Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa,' and 'Ketu' of 'Malayaketu,' according to the popular maxim नामैकदेशग्रहणे नामग्रहणम्। Therefore we come to the conclusion that the real name of the Trivandrum Drama is "*Svapna-vāsavadatta*" and not "*Svapna-nāṭaka.*"

V. VENKATARAM SHARMA

The Lumbinī-Pilgrimage Record in two Inscriptions

The votive record of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the village of Lumbinī is preserved in two inscriptions, one incised on a stone pillar (*silāthabha*) and the other on a stone slab (*silāphalaka*). The copy on the *silāthabha* is what is familiarly known as the Rummindei Pillar Inscription and that on the *silāphalaka* may be designated the Kapileśvar Stone-slab Inscription. The Rummindei copy remains incised on the lower portion of a broken pillar of Aśoka which stands "as a mere stump, but still *in situ*", "near the shrine of Rummindéî, about a mile to the north of the village of Paṛariyā, which is about 2 miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsīl of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī."

The Kapileśvar copy, first brought to public notice by Mr. Haranchandra Chakladar of the Calcutta University, was procured in about March 1928 by Mr. Birendranath Roy for his museum at Puri from a farmer of the village of Kapileśvar, situated nearly a mile to the south of the famous Liṅgaraj Temple at Bhuvaneśvar. The farmer had found the inscribed stone-slab set in the mud-wall of his hut. This is all the information which Mr. Roy and others could gather from him.[2]

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1 If we accept the name in feminine gender we have to correct Rājaśekhara's Subhāṣita words as स्वप्नवासवदत्ताया दाहको instead of स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकी।

2 *Pravāsī* (a Bengali monthly), Śrāvaṇ, 1335, B.S. (i.e., July 1928), p. 627.

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The Rummindei inscription is beautifully designed in five lines, the first four of which run to the full length, keeping a uniform margin on both sides, and the fifth line, which starts from the same margin on the left, is made up of the six concluding letters. The number of letters is not the same in all the lines, and, in this respect, the design differs from that of the Second and the Third Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions. With this may be contrasted the design of the Kapileśvar inscription, which covers almost the whole of the surface of a piece of stone measuring, if placed vertically, 1′ 7″ in length, 1′ in height and 7″ in thickness. The very appearance of the stone-slab suggests that originally it formed part of a larger whole, the mutilation being clearly perceptible in the upper part. The inscription consists of six lines, and there appears a marked tendency to accommodate fifteen letters in each line, although a slight variation is noticeable in lines 4 and 5, each of which contains sixteen letters. The size of the letters becomes smaller here and there after the second line. As in the Third Barabar Hill Cave inscription, we further notice an attempt to run all the lines between the same margin. In line 6 there are some nine additional letter-forms, four before and six after *athabhāgiya*, which are not to be found in the Rummindei record. Similarly, there are two additional forms at the end of line 5 immediately after *ubalika kaṭa*.

If the text of the Rummindei inscription be taken as the standard, that of the Kapileśvar will be found to present certain variations, slips and omissions, as will appear from the following table:

1. Variations—(*a*) *D*[*e*]*vāṇaṃphiyeṇa* for *Devānaṃpiyena*; (*b*) *Piyadashiṇa* for *Piyadasina*; (*c*) *vi*° for *vī*°; (*d*) *Budha* for *Budhe*; (*e*) *j*[*ā*]*ta* for *jāte*; (*f*) *saya*° for *sakya*°; (*g*) *kālā-ph*(*i*)*t*(*ā*) for *kālāpita*; (*h*) *sil*(*ā*)*thabha va* for *silāthabhe cha*; (*i*) *u*(*sa*)*p*[*ā*]*p*(*i*)*ta* for *usapāpite*; (*j*) *j*[*ā*]*te ta* for *jāte ti*; (*k*) *L*[*u*]*minigame* for *Lummminigāme*; (*l*) *ubalika kaṭa* for *ubalike kaṭe*; and (*m*) *āthabhāgiya* for *aṭhabhāgiye*.
2. Slips—(*a*) *visābhisitena* for *vīsati-vasābhisitena*; (*b*) *āgācha* for *atana āgācha*; and (*c*) *mahīda* for *mahīyite hida*.
3. Additions—(*a*) *Īl*$_{0}$(*v*)*th*$_{0}$ (*200*) *40* between *ubalika kaṭa* and *athabhāgiya*; (*b*) three Kharoshṭhī letters between two uniform devices after *athabhāgiya* in line 6, the devices appearing somewhat like inverted Brāhmī *ma* or inverted nandi-pada symbols, and the Kharoshṭhī letters reading from right to left *ch*(*u* or *m*) *dra ya*.

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Examining the letters in the Kapileśvar inscription, we may observe that inspite of certain curious forms such as those of *ṃ*, *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *ṇ*, *m* and *v*, the specimen of the script is, on the whole, not such as to warrant the suppostion that it is not Aśokan. With regard to the curious forms, we may note that *ṃ* is represented by a short vertical upper stroke instead of by a dot (cf. *Devāṇaṃ* in l. 1,); that in line 3, the two sides of *g* do not appear to meet on the top at a sharp angle; that in the same line, the curvature of *ch* is abnormally large and almost appears to be of the same height as the vertical line; that in the same line, the upper portion of the vertical of *k* is somewhat longer than the lower; that the upper and lower curvatures of *j* everywhere look effaced, leaving in the middle only a curve (but not a sharp angle); that in line l. 1, *ṇ* is made up of a vertical line with a rectangular base open in the middle of the top; that, in lines 3 and 5, the intersected portion of the circle of *m* looks effaced, so that the letter appears to enclose a gap from top to bottom; and, lastly, that in the first *v* of line 1, the circle is disproportionately large.

But, on a careful examination of all the letters in the inscription, it will be evident that the really unusual forms are only those of *ṃ*, *ch* and *ṇ*. As regards the other letters, they occur in this very inscription in those forms that are also met with in other inscriptions of Aśoka. In fact, we get two varieties of the form of each of the letters *k*, *g*, *m*, and *y* [cf. *k* (l. 3) with *k* (l. 4), *g* (l. 3) with *g* (l. 5), *m* (ll. 3, 5) with *m* (l. 2) where there is a clear evidence of original intersection of the curves, *y* (l. 1) with *y* (l. 3)]. Chanda has noted the occurrence in this inscription of unusual forms of *n* and *s*.[1] We have to point out that the form of the dental *s* is all right, and the sibilant in line 1, which may strike one as unusual, is but a regular Brāhmī form of the lingual sibilant *sh*, and not of the dental *s*; and that the letter which he specifies as a curious form of the dental nasal *n*, may not be a curious form of *n* but of the lingual nasal *ṇ*. So far as it can be judged from the form of the dental nasal employed in this inscription, there is nothing unusual about it. In the case of each of the letters *k*, *ch*, *g*, and *v*, the form which we have pointed out at the outset as unusual is not so,

1 See Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda's note on the newly discovered Kapileśvar inscription, in the Bengali monthly, *Pravāsī*, Āśvin, 1335 B.S. (i.e., Oct. 1928), pp. 806-7.

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because it is also met with in some of the other inscriptions of Aśoka, for instance, *k* with the vertical longer in the upper portion occurs in the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I; the disproportionate size of the curve of *ch* is amply illustrated by the *ch*'s in the Delhi-Mirath copy of R.E. II, *e.g.*, in the words *sache*, *sochaye* (l. 2), *chilaṃthitikā* (l. 6); *g* (l. 3) has its parallel in *go* of *nigohakubhā* in the First Barabar Hill Cave inscription; the rather disproportionate circle of the first *v* in line 1 finds its parallels in the First and the Second Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions; the form of *j* similarly has its counterpart in the last named inscriptions and also an interesting parallel in the *j* of *Jaṃbudīpasi* in line 3 of the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I; as to the parallels of *m* and *y*, they are too numerous to require any reference here, it being borne in mind, with regard to the former, that the opening in the middle is perhaps due to the surface of the stone being worn out.

If the question be raised as to whether it was possible for the same scribe, as here, to design different forms of one and the same letter in the same inscription, our duty should simply be to refer the questioner, first to the three copies of M.R.E. I, which we definitely know to have been inscribed by one and the same scribe, *viz.*, *Chapaḍa* and particularly to the Brahmagiri copy where the *j* of line 3 differs entirely from the *j* of line 6 and the first *m* of line 3 from the second *m* as well as the third; and secondly, to the Lauriya-Araraj copy of P.E. I, where the letter *y* occurs throughout in two forms, as in the Kapileśvar inscription, nay, even in one and the same line.

The three Kharoshṭhī letters between the two devices shaped like inverted Brāhmī *ma* in the right half of line 6, which have hitherto escaped notice, have an importance all their own. The word represented by them is *Chudraya* or *Chu(ṃ)draya*. One may be tempted to read, from left to right, the first two letters as Brāhmī *ga* and *ja* and the third doubtfully as Brāhmī *ma*, but, to guard against such a precipitate course, it must be pointed out that nowhere in this inscription the Brāhmī *j* or the Brāhmī *m* hangs below the level of the line or of the accompanying letters, as the second and the third letters (read from left to right) do here. All the features of the three letters are properly accounted for, if we read them as Kharoshṭhī. It is easy to understand that the purpose of inserting the word between the two symbols was to keep it distinct from the text of the inscription. Like *Chapaḍa* of M.R.E.I, *Ch(u)ṃdraya* may be regarded as the name of the scribe. Considered in this light, it enables us to set down this inscription

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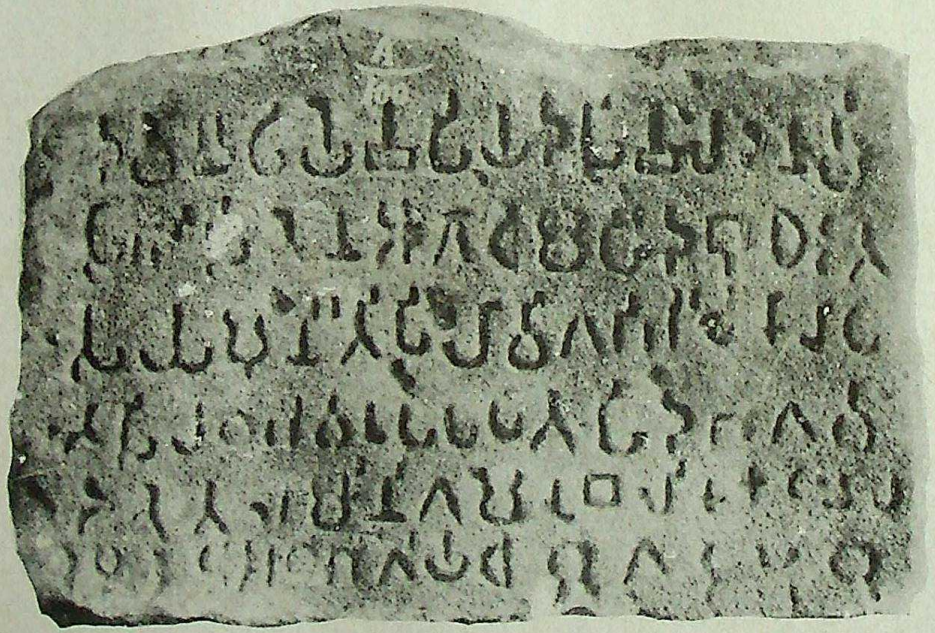
as a Brāhmī record in the extreme north of India wherein the name of the scribe appears in Kharoshṭhī just as the word *lipikara* does in the Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara copies of M.R.E. I in the extreme south. It is to be noted that in the three south-Indian inscriptions, the colophon of the text consists of a complete sentence, *Chapaḍena likhitaṃ* (or °*te*) *lipikareṇa*, 'written by Chapaḍa, the scribe', the first two words of which are in Brāhmī and the third word in Kharoshṭhī; whereas in the present inscription such a full statement could not be made apparently for want of space, and consequently the name *Chu(ṃ)draya* stands alone enclosed by the two symbols. The subscription of the name in Kharoshṭhī at the end of a Brāhmī inscription proves, precisely as in the case of the three south-Indian inscriptions, that the scribe himself hailed from the north-western part of India where Kharoshṭhī was the prevalent script, or that, at any rate, his own script, like that of *Chapaḍa*, was not Brāhmī but Kharoshṭhī.

Since the publication of Chanda's note on the new find (*Pravāsī*, Oct. 1928), doubting the genuineness of the record, the general impression has been that it is a forgery. Those who have read his note, which is in Bengali, will, we think, agree with us that he has cast a doubt without a sifting examination of individual letters of the inscription in relation to one another as also to the letters of other Aśoka inscriptions, particularly those in South India, which, as is well-known, are incised in Brāhmī by a scribe whose habitual script was Kharoshṭhī. If our contention bears scrutiny, that is to say, if there occurs between the two devices a word represented by three Kharoshṭhī letters, whatever may be its final reading and interpretation, then the whole question as to the genuineness or otherwise of the Kapileśvar record will have to be reopened and approached in the light of the new aspect that it has now gained. Now, if from the occurrence, in a purely Brāhmī record, of a colophon in Kharoshṭhī, the right inference be that it was incised by a professional scribe who had been brought up in the tradition of north-west India, it becomes necessary to enquire whether and how far in the Brāhmī portion of that record the letter-forms and the language have been influenced respectively by Kharoshṭhī and the dialects of the north-west region where Kharoshṭhī was prevalent, that is to say, by the letters and dialects of Aśoka's Rock inscriptions at Shahbazgarhī and Mansehra, and further, whether in other well known Brāhmī inscriptions of Aśoka we can discover traces of influence either in respect of letter-forms or in that of language.



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With regard to letter-forms, the distinction between the dental and lingual nasals would not have struck us at all, had we not in mind the tendency in Kharoshṭhī to form the *ṇ* by a loop at the base (cf. the *ṇa* of *lipikareṇa* written in Kharoshṭhī in the colophon of the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I). If we bear in mind how such a long habit of writing might exercise a sub-conscious influence on the scribe when he was engaged in incising an inscription in Brāhmī, to which he was not much accustomed, it becomes easy to understand how the figure of the Brāhmī lingual *ṇ* could be drawn at the base describing a rectangle with the appearance of a oblong loop, so to say. Evidently, the scribe was labouring under a disadvantage, and the same impression gains ground in respect of the scribe of the three aforesaid South-Indian copies of M.R.E. I, when they are compared with the present inscription generally.

As regards language, the orthography followed in the Kapileśvar inscription bears traces of influence of the north-western dialects, perceptibly in the substitution of the lingual *ṇ* and *sh* for the dental *n* and *s* (*Devāṇamphiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa*),—a feature which is altogether absent in inscriptions to the east of Kalsi and south of Girnar. Such a substitution is, we think, also due to the same sub-conscious influence, on the scribe, of the orthography of the north-western dialects, and looking for parallels, we discover in Chapaḍa's copies of M.R.E. I at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara that the lingual nasal occurs in place of the dental of other copies, notably in the words *pakamiṇeṇa* (Brahmagiri) and *sāvaṇe* (in all the three copies). However much Chapaḍa might have restrained himself in the Siddāpura copy in respect of the dental in *pa*[*kamine*]*na*, his lurking predilection for the lingual was so potent as to make him use it twice in the Brahmagiri variant, *pakamiṇeṇa*, where he should have used it only once, consistently with the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra dialects. Chapaḍa's performance, such as it is, will surely absolve the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription from the guilt of having spelt the word *Devāṇaṃ* with a lingual *ṇ*.

Further evidence of such an influence can be gathered from the Kalsi record of the Fourteen Rock Edicts. As regards orthography, the Kalsi version has, down to almost the end of R.E. IX, maintained harmony with Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, and inclined, from the concluding portion of R.E. IX down to R.E. XIV, to resemble Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. From R.E. X to R.E. XIV the inscription is by a different hand. It is in this portion that we discern a marked pre-

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ponderance of the lingual and the palatal sibilants (*sh*, *ś*), although in respect of the dental nasal (*n*), sufficient care seems to have been taken to maintain the orthography of the texts in the preceding portion. Notwithstanding the fact that the scribe of the second portion of the Kalsi record did not emulate Chapaḍa by using Kharoshṭhī to provide a tangible proof of his connection with, or knowledge of, that script, it is not difficult to surmise from the aforesaid evidence that he, too, was a man of north-western tradition. As to the contrast between Chapaḍa and the Kalsi scribe of the second portion, we find that while the former has shown his north-western predilection for *ṇ*, the latter has done the same in respect of *ś* and *sh*. Then, where is the harm if the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription has inclined towards both the lingual nasal and the lingual sibilant, when he, too, was as the Kharoshṭhī colophon *Chuṃdrayo* shows, an inheritor of the same north-western tradition?

The additions and slips in the present inscripton constitute the second argument of Chanda for casting doubt on its genuineness. As regards the additions, he has drawn attention to certain expressions represented by six letter-traces between *ubalika kaṭa* and *aṭhabhāgiya* (as he reads it) but he is silent about the colophon enclosed by the two devices. His argument is that there is no scope for any extra expression between *ubalika kaṭa* and *aṭhabhāgiya*' presumably on account of the fact that in the Rummindei copy the sense of the text is complete without it.

But in pressing his argument he has not proved, as he ought to have done, that it was binding on the scribe or persons responsible for the Kapileśvar inscription to strictly adhere to the Rummindei text and not to put in additional matters. If we compare the different versions of the Aśoka edicts, it becomes increasingly clear that they differ in omissions and additions of expressions and in divisions of sentences, as, for instance, in the common portion of the three copies of the Schism Pillar edict at Sārnath, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchi. Again, in the case of M.R.E. I, it will be noticed that the introductory statement (*Suvaṃṇagirīte ayaputasa.....vataviyā*) of the three South-Indian copies has no counterpart in the remaining ones just as the concluding statement of the Sahasram copy (*Ima cha aṭhaṃ.....likhāpayātha ti*) has no counterpart except in the copy found at Rūpnath. Such being the case, one ought to attempt a reading of the extra expression in the Kapileśvar inscription before summarily dismissing it as superfluous. So far as we can make out, the six additional

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letters representing the expression offer a reading *Īl*$_{\circ}$ (*v*)$_{\circ}$*th* (*200*) *40*. If this reading be correct, then it must be said that the Rummindei copy is guilty of a very important omission.

Now, with regard to the slips, the palpable and fatal errors, relied upon by Chanda as an argument in favour of the spuriousness of the Kapileśvar copy, it seems that he has tried to impress that the scribes, because they were employed by Piyadasi, were incapable of such slips and errors. On the other hand, Piyadasi himself was fully cognisant of the fact that his scribes were not immune from such faults, and, as a matter of fact, he had to issue an edict, viz., R. E. XIV to excuse himself on their blunder (*lipikarā-paradhena vā*) for the incomplete character of his rescripts here and there, and we need not cite here the numerous instances of errors his scribes had committed in different parts of India. The scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription may at first sight appear to be far more guilty than the scribes of other inscriptions. One may point out with Chanda that he is guilty of a slip in °*visābhisitena* for *vīsati-vasābhisitena*, of the omission of *atana* or *atanā* before *āgācha* and of a serious slip in *mahīda* for *mahīyite hida*. But we think that his °*visābhisitena* may be excused, as the sense (viz. "when he had been consecrated twenty years") can be deduced from it without difficulty ; that the omission of *atanā* before *āgācha* is not important, for the sense of it is implied in *āgācha* itself ; and that the slip in *mahīda*, serious though it may be, jeopardizing, as it does, the word *hida* which is to be connected with the next expression (viz., *Buddha jata*), does not, after all, wholly miss the form or the sense of *mahīyite*. Such thoughtless clipping and patching are, however, not without their parallels, and Chanda, in whose opinion there never occurs an instance of mutilation in the titles and years of coronation of the king, will perhaps be astounded to find that in the very edict (viz. R.E. XIV) in which the king seeks to excuse himself on his scribes' errors, the Shahbazgarhi scribe writes with impunity the king's title as *Devanampriyena Prisina* (!). If this be the sample of slip committed in the execution of a Kharoshṭhī inscription by a scribe who was presumably conversant with the Kharoshṭhī script and familiar with the north-western dialects, the lapses which the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription becomes guilty of, having had to execute a record in a rather unfamiliar script and an equally unfamiliar dialect, lose at once their serious character on comparison. We do not deny that he was careless to a degree, but that should not

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be the reason for doubting the genuineness of a record, far less, of one inscribed under peculiar circumstances. Indeed, before deciding one way or the other, the important point to consider must always be the evidence of the lurking influence of the north-western tradition betrayed by the scribe in the Kharoshṭhī letters of the colophon, and the peculiar orthography of the words *Devāṇaṃpḥiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa* and *kālāphitā*.

The purport of the third argument of Chanda, in so far as it bears upon the question of forgery, is that if the record on the Rummindei pillar had sufficed to serve the king's purpose, there was no occasion for its reduplication on a stone slab. The purpose of the king was, in his opinion, two-fold : (1) to afford guidance to the future pilgrims in identifying the actual spot of Buddha Śākyamuni's birth, and (2) to provide his revenue-collectors at Lumbinī with a direction, by drawing their attention to the immunities and privileges granted to the village. These constitute the basic fact of his argument. We may certainly entertain them as inferences, but there are other considerations which must not be lost sight of. The text read as a whole embodies a vivid record of the memorable deeds of merit done by a devout pilgrim on his visit to a spot which for him had a great fascination as the birth-place of Buddha Śākyamuni. None can mistake that in the expressions of the record the august majesty of Piyadasi has been transcended by the genial grace of the devotee. And the purpose which spontaneously comes out of the text does not differ from that of other devout pilgrims or benevolent persons whose natural desire have sought satisfaction in labelling their individual works of piety with a commemorative personal record. Speaking of Piyadasi himself, such a desire has found expression also in his edict on his second queen's donations. In fact, the Rummindei text enumerates broadly two types of pious deeds, each illustrated by two similar acts, namely,

(i) Memorial stone-work : *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita* and *silāthabhe cha usapāpite* ; and

(ii) Benevolence : *Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe* and *aṭhabhāgiye cha.*

The inscription on the Rummindei Pillar (which is the *silāthabha*, the first type of work), is a proof that the royal pilgrim labelled it with a commemorative personal record, but what about the other deed of the first type which has also been mentioned as an action (*silāvigaḍa* etc.) and, as such, might equally be marked out by a label ? If it be contended that the work implied in *silāvigaḍa* etc. is

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not different from that involved in *silāthabhe* etc., then what about the distinguishing tablet or tablets for the royal acts of benevolence representing the second type of work? If it was found expedient to include in the record on the *silāthabha* the fact not only of the erection of the pillar itself but also of the disposing of the *silāvigaḍa* and the dispensing of the acts of benevolence, why should it be found inexpedient to make a full record in each of the other two cases? If *silāvigaḍa* be a carving in stone apart from the *silāthabha*, can we reasonably say that there was no occasion for another inscription of a similar kind? In the case of the immunities and privileges granted to the village of Lumbinī, is it, again, unreasonable to imagine an occasion for necessarily two additional records, one for the guidance of the king's revenue-collectors and the other to be used by the villagers themselves as a documentary safe-guard against possible encroachment on their rights? If there be any doubt about the possibility of such a royal procedure, viz., of multiplying the records, it may at once be removed by a reference to the Sārnath Schism Pillar inscription, which fortunately embodies the detailed instruction of Piyadasi to his Mahāmātras as to the method to be followed by them for circulating the royal measure to all persons or groups of person whom it might concern, and this was to be done by means of as many copies as possible. If so, where is the difficulty in regarding the Kapileśvar copy as one of the possible additional records at Lumbinī?

It can be pertinently asked, how is one to account for its find in a village in Bhuvaneśvar in remote Orissa? One of the following two explanations are possible:

(i) that it was just a copy sent by Piyadasi to Tosali, the principal head-quarters of his Kaliṅga province, for the information of his official representatives about his pious acts in Lumbinī;

(ii) that the record itself was in later times removed from Lumbinī to Kaliṅga through some unknown agency.

The first explanation, which has been offered by Chakladar, is ably refuted by Chanda, who argues that the subject-matter of the record, pertaining as it does to the village of Lumbinī, has but a local interest and that there is nothing in the text of the inscription to necessitate its circulation in a far-off province like Kaliṅga.[1] With regard to

1 Chanda, *op. cit.*

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the second explanation, the only point for consideration is whether the removal of the inscribed stone slab from Lumbinī to Orissa was at all possible, and, if so, when, by whom, and for what reason ?

The contingency of transference does not at all strike us as impossible, especially when we have recorded instances of the removal of Aśoka's monoliths to long distances. It may be contended that those monoliths were removed on account of their artistic importance and that the inscribed stone slab of Kapileśvar had apparently no special attraction to have induced any one to remove it. History, however, does not bear out that things of this kind were without their importance. The famous Hāthigumphā inscription of the powerful Jaina king Khāravela of Kaliṅga, on the Udayagiri hill, only five miles from Bhuvaneśvar, which is an epigraphic record assignable to as early a date as the second quarter of the first century A.C.[1] (not to say that its date may be pushed even further back to the first[2] or second century B.C.[3]), expressly mentions that Khāravela triumphantly brought back to Kaliṅga the seat of Jina, the pride of the people of Kaliṅga, which had been carried off (no doubt as a trophy) by one Nandarāja (*Naṇdarāja-nītaṃ Kāliṃga-Jināsanaṃ*).[4] An idea of such seats can be formed from the numerous pre-iconic representations in ancient sculptures of the Buddhists and the Jains, notably those at Barhut, Bodh-Gayā and Udayagiri. They are so many cubical carvings of wood or stone, and, the inscribed stone slab of Kapileśvar, so far as its present form goes, may very well pass as a good example of them. Whatever the size or the material of the *Jināsana*, the fact remains that it was in that distant age carried from and back to Kaliṅga as a signal proof of victory. In the case of the Kapileśvar stone slab, even without imagining a contest of rival kings bringing about its transference, we can fancy the possibility of its removal under quieter circumstances, say, for instance, by some pious pilgrim or chance visitor ; for, after all, its size was not unmanageably large, nor was its conveyance difficult, on account of the proximity of Lumbinī to Kapilavastu, the halting place along

1 Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 22, 45. 260.

2 Chanda, *MASI.*, No. 1, pp. 14-15 ; Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of India*, pp. 239-40, 258-59.

3 Jayaswal and R. D. Bannerji in *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 495-497 *et.seq.*

4 Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, vol. IV., pt. iv, p. 403 ; and Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 22, 260.

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the great caravan route from Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, to Paṭiṭṭhāna on the bank of the Godāvarī,[1] and also on account of the facility of communication between Magadha and Kaliṅga[2] both by land and sea, the land-route being expressly mentioned in the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*. Thus, by whatever tests the Kapileśvar record be judged, whether of palæography, or of orthography, or of the Kharoshṭhī colophon, or of the possibility of multiplication of records, or of the chances of transport, one cannot see eye to eye with Chanda in respect of the charges he has preferred against the document.

So much about the Kapileśvar inscription. We shall now proceed to the interpretation of the two Lumbinī-Pilgrimage records, and begin with the word *mahīyite*. It is to be noticed at the outset that the nominative of the verb *mahīyite*, which means 'was worshipped,' is wanting in both the texts; the object of worship may, however, be deduced from the expressions *hida Budhe jāte Sakyamuni*, *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte* and *Luṃmini-gāme*. In other words, the thing worshipped is the spot of Buddha Śākyamuni's nativity in the village of Lumbinī. But, is this all the bearing that the term *mahīyite* has in the text of the inscriptions? We think not. The whole text is epitomised by the introductory expression *atana āgācha mahīyite*; this is what is technically called the 'Uddesa' or the theme of the text, and what follows is the 'Niddesa,' or its exemplification in specific terms. The full sense of the expression *atana āgācha mahīyite* is not covered but only typified in the 'niddesa', that is to say, the idea of the magnitude of the pious action implied in the 'uddesa' is to be understood in the light of the two sets of typical examples, namely :—

1. (a) *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita*,
   (b) *silāthabhe cha usapāpite*; and
2. (a) *Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe*,
   (b) (*Luṃmini-gāme*) *aṭhabhāgiye* (*kaṭe*).

If we confine ourselves to the 'uddesa' portion, the graceful solemnity of the occasion will be suggested by the august presence (*atana agācha*) of the pilgrim, His Gifted Majesty and Grace, the King himself (*Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā lājinā*). Further, the mention of the particular regnal year, viz., the twentieth (or, the twenty first), imparts a special character to the magnitude of the occasion, because it represents

1 *Sutta-nipāta*, Bk. v. (*vatthugāthā*); *Buddhist India*, ch. V; Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 218.

2 See also *Si-yu-ki*.

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that period of Piyadasi's reign when he was at the zenith of his glory. Thus do the introductory statement and the illustrations hang about the term *mahīyite* which is the all-important word in the text, and, therefore, for a fuller comprehension of its import, we should like to pusl our enquiry a little further.

There is a word *mahīyate* in the *Upanishads*[1] which occurs in the sense of *pūjita, archita*, 'honoured, adored, worshipped,' as also in the hymns of the Ṛg-veda. The word is also to be found in the Buddhist texts in this very sense.[2] *Mahīyite*, as it occurs in the inscriptions under notice, may be taken to carry with it the idea of *maha, makha* or *magha*, i.e., *yajña*, a ceremonial performance, a formal demonstration of an act of faith, such as is referred to in the following verse of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 405) :—

Mauryaḥ sabhṛtyaḥ sajanaḥ sapauraḥ sulabdhalābhārtha suyashṭayajñaḥ/
Yasyedṛśaḥ sādhujane prasādaḥ kāle tathotsāhi kṛtaṃ cha dānam//

Considered in this light, the *mahīyanā* by Aśoka was not a mere salutation with folded hands but a pious demonstration of the great sanctity of the spot itself and the village of Lumbinī in which it lay—a demonstration commensurate with the exalted memory of Buddha Śākyamuni and the sublime majesty of king Piyadasi. It is through this specific sense of *mahīyanā* that we can account for the mention of the stone-works and the grant of immunities and privileges, which are to be regarded as the necessary consummation of the royal pilgrimage and act of worship. In fact, the whole tenor of the text of the Lumbinī-Pilgrimage inscriptions can be shown to have been fully reflected in (i) the account in the *Kāliṅgabodhi-jātaka* of the *mahā-*

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1 Chāndogya III, 17. 6 ; VII, 2. 1-10 : *tena sampanno mahīyate.*

2 Dīgha, II (*Mahāparinibbāna sutta*), where we come across *mahīyati* in the sense of 'pūjitā' and *mahenti* in the sense of 'pūjenti' :

Ekā hi dāṭhā tidivehi pūjitā
ekā pana Gandhārapure mahīyati/
Kāliṅgaraññho vijite pun' ekaṃ
ekaṃ puna Nāgarājā mahenti//

For *mahāyanā* in the sense of 'pūjanā,' see Fausböll's *Jātaka*, vol. IV (Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka). The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 389) uses *archeyam*, a verb from the root *arch*, to mean the act of homage performed by Aśoka to the holy spots of Buddhism.

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yanā of Sambodhi (the great Bo-tree) by a king of Kaliṅga, and (ii) the vivid account in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 389-90) of Aśoka's pilgrimage to, and act of worship at, Lumbinī. The following verses from the Jātaka, just mentioned, furnish a picture of a royal *mahāyanā* of Bodhimaṇḍa, the spot of the Buddha's Enlightenment :

Mahāyitvāna Sambodhiṃ nānātūriyehi vajjamānehi/
mālāvilepanaṃ abhiharitvā pākāra-parikkhepaṃ kāresi//

Saṭṭhivāhasahassāni pupphāni sannipātayi/
pūjesi rājā Kāliṅgo Bodhimaṇḍamanuttaraṃ//

It will be seen that the specific acts performed were two :

(i) the worship (under the direction of a religious guide) of the Bo tree and the terrace (*Sambodhiṃ, Bodhimaṇḍaṃ*), accompanied by various kinds of music and profuse offerings of flowers and scented unguents ; and

(ii) the railing in of the terraced Bo-tree by a suitable enclosure. With regard to (ii), the gloss has the following details : (*a*) the setting up, in the terrace, of a golden pillar, eighteen cubits in height (*Bodhimaṇḍe aṭṭhārasa-hatthaṃ suvaṇṇa-thambhaṃ ussāpesi*) ; (*b*) the construction of a jewelled cubical altar in front of the Bo-tree (*tassa satta-ratanamayaṃ vedikaṃ kārāpesi*); and (*c*) the erection of a jewelled gate chamber (*satta-ratanamayaṃ dvāra-koṭṭhakaṃ kārāpesi*).

And the details to be gathered from the *Divyāvadāna* are :

(i) that the pilgrimage to Lumbinī and other Buddhist holy places was undertaken by Aśoka to satisfy the yearning of his heart to worship those sacred sites which were hallowed by the association of the Buddha, the Blessed One, and to mark them out by visible signs in order to afford guidance to future visitors (*Ayaṃ me manoratho : Ye Bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyushitās tān archeyaṃ chihnāni cha kuryāṃ paschimasyāṃ janatāyām anugrahārtham*) ;

(ii) that the king proceeded to the spot in a triumphal procession with perfumes, wreaths and flowers for worship, accompanied by Upagupta as his religious guide (*rājā chaturaṅga-balakāyaṃ saṃnāhya gandha-mālya-pushpam ādāya sthaviropagupta-sahāyaḥ saṃprasthitaḥ*) ;

(iii) that the garden of Lumbinī was the first place visited by the king (*rājānam Aśokaṃ sarva-prathamena Lumbinī-vanaṃ praveśayitvā*) ;

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(iv) that, arriving at Lumbinī, Upagupta dramatically pointed out the spot of the Buddha's nativity in the words, *asmin mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavāñ jātaḥ*, which echo the words of the inscriptions, *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte.*

(v) that the king fell prostrate on the spot and stood up with folded hands and tears of rapturous joy (*rājā sarva-śarīreṇa tatra pādyor nipatyotthāya kṛtāñjaliḥ prarudann uvācha*) ;

(vi) that the king's faith in the reality of the momentous event of the Buddha's birth on that very spot was intensified by the corroborration of the tradition by a female deity, who, as an eye-witness of the scene of nativity, gave a vivid description thereof in the following words: *Mayā hi dṛishṭaḥ kanakāvadātaḥ prajāyamāno dvipada-pradhānaḥ padāni sapta kramamāṇa eva śrutā cha vācham api tasya śāstuḥ//*

(vii) that the king laid the foundation of a fitting memorial shrine (*chaityaṃ cha pratishṭhāpya*), a statement which reminds the expressions of the inscriptions—*silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita, silāthabhe cha usapāpite* ; and

(viii) that he made a grant of a hundred thousand in money to the place of the Buddha's nativity (*rājñā jātyāṃ śatasahasraṃ dattaṃ*), which, again, calls to mind the passage of the inscriptions—*Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye cha.*

The full bearing of the significant word *mahīyite* is now clear to us.[1]

Our next point of enquiry will be about the expression *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita silāthabhe cha usapāpite.* This is a statement of the first type, as already pointed out, of Piyadasi's specific acts of piety and the work is recorded in the inscriptions under notice as belonging to his twenty-first regnal year. A similar work of piety, in another connexion but done in the same regnal year, finds mention also in the Niglīvā Pillar inscription[2] in the words *silāthabhe usapāpite,*

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1 It is worth while to note that the *Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra* (ch. xv, concluding portion) makes mention of ceremonies, essentially ritualistic, in connexion with the erection of columns (Āchārya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 46.)

2 The Niglīvā Pillar inscription also records a previous work of piety, viz., the enlargement of a stūpa of Konāgamana in Piyadasi's fifteenth regnal year (*Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasavasābhisitena Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyaṃ vaḍhite*), but clearly that has got nothing to do with the *silāthabha* of that very inscription.

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but the expression *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita* does not occur there. Is the *silāvigaḍa*, then, some work of art distinct from the *silāthabha*? We could definitely say 'yes', if we were sure that *vigaḍa* had nothing to do with the stone pillar. We ought, therefore, to find out what at best it signifies.

The opinion of scholars is sharply divided over the interpretation of the Lumbinī additional clause *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita*, and the difference is based mainly upon two points: (i) whether or not *chā* of *bhīchā* is a conjunction, and (ii) whether or not the act implied in the whole expression is a part of, and not distinct from, the act of setting up the stone pillar. The opinion is divided also as to whether *chā* being regarded as a conjunction, *bhī* in the sense of *bhṛt* is a part of the word *silāvigaḍa*, or it is only an optional form of the expletive *hi*. As for treating *chā* as a conjunction squaring with *cha* of the next clause, we cannot deny its possibility, although we are of opinion that a form like *cha* instead of *chā* would have been more symmetrical here. Against treating it as such, it may be argued with some reason that in the construction of the next statement *ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye cha*, the connexion has been expressed by a single *cha*. Amongst those who regard *chā* as a conjunction, there are some who are inclined to equate *silāvigaḍabhī* with *śilāvigardabhī*, 'a stone-made she-ass', Charpentier, amongst those who take *chā* as a conjuntion and *bhī* as equivalent to Sk. *bhṛt*, "bearing," has sought to explain *silāvigaḍabhī* as "bearing on its top the stone-figure of an active horse," evidently meaning the *silāthabha* or the Lumbinī Pillar (*vigaḍa* being equated by him with *agaḍa*, which, he argues, is a shortening from *agalitāśva*, *galita* meaning 'unbroken, idle, inactive')[1]; and Barua, challenging the tenability of the outwitting way of equating *vigaḍa* with *agaḍa* and then regarding *agaḍa* as a shortening from *agalitāśva*, suggests that the word *silāvigaḍa* is a substantive, that it "represents indefinitely the crowning stone-figure" of the Lumbinī Pillar, and that *bhī* is "just an expletive particle = *hi*."[2] On the other hand, Mookerji, regarding *chā* as a conjunction and *bhī* (which he equates with Hindi *bhi*) as an expletive (meaning "also") thinks that *silāvigaḍa* signifies "a stone bearing a figure", *vigaḍa* being derived from *vigaḍha* = vigarha = vigraha, "the well-known word for a figure", rather than from *vikaṭa* = *vikṛta*, which, according to him, is "phonetically rather impossible." He differs

1 *IA*, 1914, pp. 17, f. 11.

2 *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, pp. 86-7.

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from Barua in the derivation of the word but agrees with him in a way as to its meaning but not as regards its identity, for he suggests that it is a work in stone, quite distinct from the Lumbinī stone pillar and that it may more reasonably be taken to refer to the ancient sculpture which represents the scene of Buddha Śākyamuni's nativity and is now enshrined in the Rummindei Temple.[1] In other words, the clause, according to Mookerji, who reads it *silā-vigaḍa-bhī chā kālāpita*, is to be interpreted as a clear proof of Aśoka having caused this piece of sculpture to be carved in stone as early as his twenty-first regnal year. Again, amongst those who regarded *bhīchā* as a word by itself, there were Fleet and R. G. Bhandarkar who equated it with Sk. *bhittikā* and explained the expression *silāvigaḍa-bhīchā* as signifying "a stone wall, a stone enclosure". Hultzsch was at first inclined to take it to mean "a brick wall decorated with stone," and Chakladar would have it rather as a "large stone foundation"

We must say that the interpretation first mentioned above (*vigaḍa-bhī=vigardabhī*, 'she-ass') does not require refutation, for however phonetically close *gaḍabhī* may be to *gardabhī*, *vigardabhī* has no meaning, and it will be ludicrous to suggest that Piyadasi could think of no better figure than that of a she-ass to signalize the most sacred spot of the Buddha's nativity. Charpentier's interpretation (*vigaḍa=agaḍa*, 'an active horse'), which is apparently suggested by Hwen Thsang's account which describes the Lumbinī Pillar as bearing the figure of a horse on its top, may be disposed of by Hultzsch's remark: "that *vigaḍa* means 'a horse' remains to be proved by more substantial evidence."[2] Barua agrees with Charpentier in so far as he is inclined to regard *silāvigaḍa* as a crowning construction of the stone-pillar itself. But his main contention seems to be that *silāvigaḍa* is apparently the same as *silāvikaṭa*, *silāvikata*, *silāvikṛta*, which signifies some figuration in stone. He has cited a number of Pāli compouds with *vikatikā* (e.g., *guḷa-vikatikā*, *pāsāda-vikatikā*, *pilandhana-vikatikā*), the term being explained by Buddhaghosa as *sīhabyagghādirūpavichitto uṇṇāmayo attharako*, i.e., "a linen coverlet beautifully designed with the figures of lions, tigers and the like," and he has quoted from the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xxvii. 30) a description of the pillars surmounted by such figures:

Sīha-byagghādi-rūpehi devatā-rūpakehi cha
Ahu ratanamayeh' esa thambhehi cha vibhūsito.

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1 Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Asoka*, pp. 201-4.

2 *The Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 164.

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He thus takes the word *silāvigaḍa* in the sense of *silārūpaka* and as "an integral part of the monolith". Hultzsch's old interpretation, 'a brick wall decorated with stone' was perhaps suggested by the fact that when the pillar was discovered, it was found surrounded by a brick wall; but, as we know, it was without any stone decoration to justify his interpretation. As regards the change of *bhittikā* (meaning 'a wall') to *bhīchā*, upheld by Fleet and Bhandarkar, it may suffice to say with Charpentier that it is "wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prakrit dialects."[1] As Chakladar does not discuss the word but simply understands that *silāvigaḍabhīchā* signifies 'a large stone foundation,' we are hardly in a position to think of any discussion of such a suggestion.

Turning now to Mookerji's interpretation, it seems rather unusual that both *bhī* as an expletive and *chā* as a conjunction should occur in the first clause instead of in the second. As regards his derivation of *vigaḍa* from *vigaḍa*=vigarha=vigraha, it is to be pointed out that metathesis of *r* in an instance like this would be extremely irregular and the change of *r* to *ḍ* is unusual—(it is the other way about)—and loss of aspiration would be unwarranted at such an early epoch and in a Gangetic dialect. Hindi and Bihāri have retained their aspiration up till now. It is only in late Middle Bengali (post 1500 A.C.) that aspiration came to be dropped.[2] But he has certainly raised a very important issue in that he is inclined to identify *silāvigaḍa* with the sculptural representation in stone of the scene of the Buddha's nativity, which now forms the sanctum of the Rummindei Temple. In the absence of any inscription on the sculpture itself, it is, however, difficult to say anything definitely about its identity with *silāvigaḍa* if at all the latter be a work quite distinct from the *silāthabha*. That the stone carving in the temple is a very old sculptural representation of an event, that it is not merely an icon, has been acknowledged on all hands, but whether it is a carving of Aśokan age remains to be proved. Nevertheless, there are certain arguments which may be relevant to the proferred identification, and, to our mind, these are :

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1 *I.A.*, 43, 17.

2 I am indebted to Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterji for this piece of information. See his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pt. I, pp. 44, 54, 353-55, 483, 490-91, 495-97.

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(i) that just as the carving of the Wheel-symbol placed upon the lion-capital of the Sarnath Piliar was an additional work of art to indicate that the pillar was set up on the very spot where the Buddha had set the Wheel of Law in motion, even so an appropriate symbol to indicate the importance of Lumbinī as the place of the Buddha's nativity might be felt necessary in addition to the stone pillar, no matter whether it was placed on the ornamented capital or disposed separately ;[1]

(ii) that the tenor of the *Divyāvadāna* account, referred to above, seems to suggest that some such concrete representation had been attempted during Aśoka's visit to Lumbinī in order to create a realistic impression on the mind of posterity ;

(iii) that Hwen Thsang has left a description, apart from that of the Lumbinī Pillar, of a stone-made figure of a deity with "the appearance of rising in a bent position", installed in a sanctuary then known as the 'temple of Īśvaradeva', which was believed to have existed from before the birth of prince Siddhārtha as a national shrine of the Śākyas,—a figure which Beal found reason to identify with the large figure rising bendingly in the sculptural scene of the Rummindei Temple ;[2]

(iv) that the whole statement of Hwen Thsang concerning the temple of Īśvaradeva and its sanctum seems intended to embody the then current interpretation of the details of the sculpture, namely, that it represented a scene of the visit of Śuddhodana (on his way back from Lumbinī) and the nurse (i.e., the foster-mother Gotamī) with the new-born Śākya prince, Siddhārtha, to that temple, the national shrine of the Śākyas, to pay homage to the presiding deity of the temple, who rose up in honour of the prince (instead of receiving homage from him),—a tradition, which, though saying nothing

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1 We are reminded of the word *gaṇḍa* which the Indian lexicographers mention as 'part of a horse's trappings, or a stud or button fixed as an ornament upon the harness'. One may very pertinently ask if there was any symbol on the back of the horse of the Lumbinī pillar (as Hwen Thsang saw it) like the Wheel of the Lion-capital of Sarnath. Is *vigaḍa* in any way related to *gaṇḍa* in this sense ?

2 Beal's *Records*, vol. II, p. 23, f. n. 59 ; Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxix, upper disc.

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about Aśoka, connects the sculpture with a scene of the Buddha's nativity and treats it as a very ancient piece of work ;

(v) that, if it be contended that had it been a representation of the scene of the Buddha's nativity, it would have been effected by the figure of an elephant, it may be pointed out that such a figure has nothing to do with the Buddha's birth as a Śākya prince, although it has significance as a symbol of the 'descent' (*okkanti*) of the Bodhisatta, which evidently is not the case here ;

(vi) that although in early sculptures, such as at Barhut, Sāñchi and and Bodh-Gayā, there is a predominant tendency not to represent the Buddha in his final existence by a human figure, there are, on account of the exigency of narrative art, certain exemptions, for instance, in the Barhut scene of the forecast of the Bodhisatta's birth[1] as a human child as also in the scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Heaven of the Thirty-three by a ladder, where the artists have been compelled to introduce respectively the figure of a child and foot-prints suggestive of human figure—a feature of narrative art which may account for the child figuring in the ancient sculpture (which, however, represents the scene of the Buddha's nativity and not of the Bodhisatta's descent), for without it the scene would be meaningless ;

(vii) that *vigaḍa* has been equated with *vikaṭa* (=*vikṛta*), and curiously enough, the *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, though a later lexicon, gives *Vikaṭā* as the name of 'Māyādevī', who is mentioned as a Buddhist goddess (*sā cha Bauddha-devī-bhedaḥ*).[2]

So much about Mookerji, who has interpreted *bhī* as an expletive, *chā* as a conjunction and *sīlāvigaḍa* as a substantive. All these different interpretations suggest that *silāvigaḍa* may admit of a construction either as an adjective or as a substantive. If we construe

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1 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, Pl. xv. (outer face), identified in Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 49.

2 *Vikaṭā* in another sense, viz., of 'hall, courtyard' occurs in the Harsha Stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 121, 123) :—

(i) *Prāṃtaprāsādamālā-virachita-vikaṭā-Pāṇḍuputtrābhirāmam* (verse 12) ; and

(ii) *Stenedaṃ dharmmi-vittaiḥ sughaṭita-vikaṭaṃ kāritaṃ Harsha harmmyam* (verse 33).

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it as an adjective, for instance, on the analogy of Pāli *suvaṇṇa-vikatā* in the Jātaka expression *nāvā cha suvaṇṇa-vikatā*,[1] we shall have to look for an appropriate noun which it should qualify, and our only alternative will be to take the word occurring after *silāvigaḍa* as representing the noun, the visible form of which is *bhī* or *bhīchā*. But, then, so long as one is not sure whether *bhīchā* really stands by itself or is the representative of any word forming sandhi with *silāvigaḍa*, and so long as the technical bearing of that contemplated word remains unsettled, it is impossible to make any sense out of *silāvigaḍa-bhīchā* on the analogy of *suvaṇṇa-vikatā-nāvā*. Again, if with Barua we construe the expression as a substantive (=*silārūpaka*) and *bhī* as an expletive (=*hi*) with *chā* as a conjunction, the interpretation will be open to the same objection as applies to Mookerji's.

Pischel, however, construed *vigaḍabhī* as an adjective qualifying *silā* (*gaḍa* 'obstacle', *vigaḍa* 'free from defect' +*bhī* fem. of −*bha*, on the analogy of *sthūla-bha*, and *gaṇḍa-śaila*, a technical term for rough block of stone).[2] Although this is the best and safest of all the interpretations hitherto suggested, it appears that *vi* and *bha* enclosing *gaḍa* have not received their due share of support by more substantial evidence from literature. In the circumstances, we have to look for a suitable expression answering to *vigaḍa* etc. There is a word *vikaṇḍa-* (*kaṃ*), used as accusative singular, in Fausböll's *Jātaka* (vol. I, p. 491), which, as its context implies, means 'post' or 'pestle' (*bhittiyam vikaṇḍakaṃ pissanto viya paṇhikāya naṃ hadaye pahari*). *Vigaḍa*, so far as can be judged from its form, is a perfect Aśokan counterpart of the Pāli *vikaṇḍa* (°kaṇḍa—°*gaṇḍa*—°*gaḍḍa*—°*gaḍa*), and *vigaḍa-bhīchā* will admirably answer to a Pāli *vikaṇḍa-bhichchā* i.e., *vikaṇḍa-bhittiyā* [*bhichchā* being the same as *bhittiyā* (instr. or loc. of *bhitti*), cf. Skt. *marttya*—Pāli *macca*], 'in or upon the post-base'. *Silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita* will, accordingly, mean 'stone was worked in or upon the post-base'. This will practically imply not only the scarping of rough block of stone but also the raising of the stone-pillar, compassing at once the sense conveyed by Pischel's interpretation. In other words, *silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita* will constitute a part of the work which resulted in the stone-pillar being set up, and this view

1 Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 147, whereon the gloss is : *suvaṇṇa-vikatā*, *suvaṇṇa-khachitā*.

2 See Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, pt. II, p. 145.

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is strengthened by the Kapileśvar reading which has *va* instead of *cha* (cf. 'silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāphitā sila-ṭhabha *va* usapapita').[1]

Next, with regard to the second type of the royal acts of piety, the two expressions that require explanation are *ubalike kaṭe* and *aṭhabhāgiye*. As for *ubalike kaṭe*, rightly equated by Barth and others with *udbalika-kṛtaḥ*, Thomas has conclusively proved that the word *ubalike* (*udbalikaḥ*) is on a par with *uchhulkaḥ* occurring in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. That *bali* and *śulka* denote two specific kinds of royal taxation can be easily granted, the former signifying 'religious cess' and the latter 'duties levied on the commodities of trade.' A difference of opinion arises according as one takes *bali* of the inscriptions in the specific sense of 'religious cess' or simply as 'taxes in general.' There is also a difference of opinion as to whether *aṭhabhāgiye* means *āshṭabhāgikaḥ* or *ārthabhāgikaḥ*. As to *āshṭabhāgikaḥ*, Fleet takes it to mean " 'entitled to an eighth share,' which the king is permitted by Manu (VII. 130) to levy on grains", and Thomas, "paying an eighth share of the produce", on the strength of the expression "caturtha-pañcha-bhāgikāḥ" (*Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, p. 116,—"paying a fourth or fifth share of the produce"). As *ārthabhāgikaḥ*, the word is taken to mean 'partaking of riches' by Barth, Bühler and Neumann, in accordance with the legend in the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka made a grant of one hundred thousand in gold to the place of the Buddha's nativity (*jātyām*), that is to say, to Lumbinī-vana or Lumbinī-gāma. If *ubalike* be taken to have been used in the general sense of exemptipn from all taxes, the interpretation of *aṭhabhāgiye* offered by Thomas will lose its point and the word will have to be equated with the form *ārthabhāgikaḥ*, necessarily signifying that the king performed an additional act of grace by making a money grant.[2] But if *ubalike* be interpreted in its specific sense of 'exemption from religious cess', then, we think, there is the necessity of understanding *aṭhābhāgiye* to mean 'paying an eighth share of the produce' (*āshṭa-bhāgikaḥ*) instead of the usual one-sixth.

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1 See foot-note 8, under the translation of the Kapileśvar text at the end of this article.

2 It reminds one of *vīragala* or *vīraśāsana*, stone monument of later times, erected in memory of a hero. It is worth noting that the raising of such monuments was accompanied by ceremonies and grants of land (see *Mānasāra*, pp. 440, 441, 561, quoting *IA*, vol. IX, p. 96 ; also *Ep. Carnat.*, vol. VII, p. 42).

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Lastly, with regard to the six additional letters which we reconstruct as *Īla vuthe 240*, the Kapileśvar copy seems to have a unique importance in the whole set of Aśoka inscriptions. For, here for the first time we have a lithic document where we find along with the mention of Aśoka's regnal year (*visābhisitena*) an enigmatic expression *vuthe 240*, preceded by the word *Īla* (= *Īlā*), hitherto unknown in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Īla* may be taken to echo the sense of the Vedic *Īḷe* (cf. *Agnim īḷe*, 'I invoke, pray or worship Agni', R.V., I, 1, 1). An expression *vyūthena* (*vyuṭhenā*, *vivuthena*, *vivuthā*) *256* (*200 50 6*) is met with in M.R.E., I, where, however, the regnal year is absent. Without repeating the well-known details of the discussion about *vyuṭhenā 256*, we may only point out here that if *vyuṭha*, like Kauṭilya's *vyushṭa*, be a technical term signifying a statement of date in term of an era (for instance, the Buddha era, as suggested by Bühler[1]), the Kapileśvar text will enable us to establish the correspondence between Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year and the 240th year of that era and also to prove in the case of M.R.E., I that the 256th year of the same era coincided with Aśoka's 37th regnal year. Further, it will be noted that the figure 240 of the Kapileśvar record almost tallies, for practical purpose, with the Pāli tradition which says that Aśoka usurped the throne of Magadha 218 years after the Buddha's demise (483 B.C.[2]) and that his consecration took place about three years thereafter. If this be granted, then M.R.E., I, considered in this light, will be the latest and not the earliest record of the Maurya king. But if *vyuṭha* or *īla vuthe* mean 'days or nights passed in prayer or on tour',[3] the question of correspondence would not arise at all.

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1 See Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 169.

2 Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of India*, p. 139.

3 With regard to *īla*, it is to be noted that no other word with an initial ī has been met with in the Aśoka inscriptions so far. Meaning as it does 'worship', 'prayer', its relevancy in a pilgrimage record is striking indeed. Has it anything to do with the goddess *Ilā* (R.V., vii, 3, 44), who is related to *Agni* and *Ushas* (= Dawn)? [Or, does it mean 'tour', 'religious tour'? Can it be related to Skt. *īryā*, which, according to the later Sanskrit lexicographers, means 'the wandering of a religious mendicant'? In either case, we would expect that the word should be followed by a statement suggestive of the days or nights spent on pilgrimage. For the

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I. The Rummindei Pillar Inscription

A. Text[1]

1 Devānap(i)yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasâbhisitena

2 atana āgācha mahīyite [.] Hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunî ti

3 silā vigaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite [:]

4 hida Bhagavaṃ jāte ti Lumini-gāme ubalike kaṭe

5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha [.]

B. Translation

[This holy spot] was worshipped[2] by His Gifted Majesty and Grace, the King, who came himself (here on pilgrimage) when he had been annointed twenty years. [Reflecting] that here (on this very spot) was born Buddha Śākyamuni,[3] stone was caused to be scarped to smoothness[4] and a stone pillar was caused to be set up : [Reflecting again] that here (on this very spot) was born the (Divine) Lord, the village of Lumbinī was made free of taxes[5] and (made) a partaker of (the royal) bounty.[6]

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correspondence of the forms, cf. Sk. *paryaṅka*, Pāli *pallaṅka*, Vernacular *pālaṅg* ; also Sk. *paryastikā*, Pāli *pallatthikā*. In a passage of the Vinaya Piṭaka *iriyā* (Skt. *īryā*) is given as a variant of *chariyā*, 'religious conduct, practice', cf. Mahāvagga, i. 6. 13 : *tāya pi kho tvaṃ āvuso Gotama chariyāya* (=*iriyāya* in the Sinhalese Ms. of the National Library, Paris), although it is generally used in the Pāli literature in the sense of 'deportment, posture', whether sitting, walking, lying and the like.]

1 Read from the fac-simile in Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. We have differed from Hultzsch in the division of sections even against the authority of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, which he has quoted. We think that the words from *Hida* (l. 2) to the end must be taken together and kept apart from the preceding text, as constituting the illustration of *Mahiyanā*.

2 Lit. 'magnified'.

3 Lit. 'the Enlightened One, the Sage (the scion) of the Śākya race'.

4 Lit. 'made free from deformities', as Pischel interprets.

5 Or, 'free of religious cesses,' as Thomas interprets.

6 Or, 'paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce as revenue),' to accept the interpretation of Thomas.

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II. The Kapileśvar Stone-Slab Inscription[1]

A. Text

1 D[e]vāṇaṃphiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa l(ā)jina vi-
2 sā(bh)isitena āgācha mahīda Budha j[ā]ta
3 Sayamunî ti silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāph(i)-
4 t(ā) sila-ṭhabha[2] va u(s)ap[ā]p(i)ta [:] hida Bhagava
5 j[ā]tet[i] L[u]mini-game ubalik[e] kaṭ[e] [—] Īla
6 (v)uth(e) (200)[3] 40[4] [—]ātha-bhāgiy[e][5] cha ∩[6] Chu(ṃ)draya[7] ∩[6]

B. Translation

[For ll. 1-3 (down to 'Sayamunî ti'), see *Rummindei*] stone was caused to be worked upon the post-base, and[8] the stone pillar was

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1 The fac-simile on page 752 is reproduced from a photo prepared by our friend and colleague Mr. Indubhusan Bannerji of the History Department, by kind permission of Mr. Birendranath Roy of Puri.

2 There is a very faint trace of a dot in the middle of the circle of the Brāhmī letter read *ṭha*. In that case, the word will read °*thabha*.

3 The letter looks like Brāhmī *su* (which, as is well-known, also functions for the numerical figure 200; cf. the letter in the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E., I.); though the right curvature and the *u*- stroke are somewhat shady, they are not untraceable.

4 This numeral has not been met with in Aśoka inscriptions so far. Should the figure be read 70? It more resembles the type of 40 than that of 70 of other inscriptions (e.g. Nāsik, Kshatrapa and Kushāṇa).

5 The *ā*-stroke of the initial letter can be traced, and in the middle of the second, there is a faint trace of a dot which is more clear than in the case of °*thabha* (fn. 2). Accordingly, we shall have to interpret the word as being equivalent to Sk. *ārthabhāgikaḥ* (*arthabhāga*+*shṇika*), 'partaking of bounty.'

6 There are two devices somewhat like inverted Brāhmī *ma*, enclosing the three Kharoshṭhī letters.

7 This word is in *Kharoshṭhī*. Should it be read *Chadraya* or even *Mudraya*?

8 Lit. 'that is to say' (*va* meaning 'or,' 'in other words'. The occurrence of *va* instead of *cha* in the expression *silaṭhabha va usapa-*

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set up : [*from* 'hida' *to* 'kaṭe' *as in Rummindei*]—worship (offered), vutha 240—(*then, as in Rummindei*) ∩ Chuṃdraya ∩

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pita suggests that *chā* as a conjunction will be out of place in the preceding expression, which is, therefore, construed as *silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāphitā*, the idea being 'stone was worked upon the post-base and the result was that there arose a stone pillar. Similar instances of showing the action first and then the result are met with in the following inscriptional passages :—(i) Inscription of Khāravela § 15 : *varākara-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojanāhitāhi..... silāhi silāthaṃbhāni.....kārāpayati* (Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 26) ; and (ii) Barhut E. Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti : *kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ, silākaṃmanto cha upaṃṇa* (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, No. 1 ; note the place of *cha* in this expression).

Vigaḍa-bhīchā, therefore, becomes equivalent to Pāli *vikaṇḍa-bhichchā* (loc. *bhitti*, 'base') on the strength of such expressions as Pāli *bhittiyaṃ vikaṇḍakaṃ pissanto* (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 491, fn., where the expression occurs as a variant and means 'pounding a post or pestle into the floor or base') or such compouuds as Sk. *gaṇḍa-bhitti*, i.e., the elephant's temple, wherefrom juice exudes, serving as a seat for the bees' [*Raghuvaṃśa*, v. 43 : 'nirdhauta-dānamala-gaṇḍa-bhittiḥ' (=*gajaḥ*) ; and xii. 102 ; also Bhartṛhari, i, 49].

That the stone pillar should stand on a stone base we can understand, although the base of the Aśokan pillar, may not, as our friend Mr. Jitendranath Banerji of the Department of Ancient History points out, necessarily be like a mortar or pot (and this is still a matter for investigation) like the earlier Persian pillar-bases (for which see Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, p. 89, fig. 30). It is, however, interesting to note that the *Jātaka* (v, p. 49) mentions posts being fixed on the top of stones like mortars (*udukkhala-pāsāṇānaṃ upari thambhe patiṭṭhāpetvā*), but we are not in a position to say if this applies to Aśokan pillars. [For *bhitti* also meaning 'floor, base or surface for incising letters or drawing figures,' cf. *bhittiyā akkharāni likhitvā* (Fausböll, iv, p. 489) and *medavaṇṇaka-pāsāṇa-bhittiyaṃ yeva ujjalā vijjullatā appitā* etc. (*Mahāvaṃsa* 30, v, 96). See also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300. 8 and p. 547. 6-8].

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On some Tantrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja

I

The inscription of *Sdok kak Thom*[1] (discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia) mentions that introduction of the mystic cult of Devarāja along with some Tāntrik texts in Kambuja during the reign of king Jayavarman II who came to the thorne in śaka 724 (=802 A.C.). The inscription is a long one and contains the chronicle of the religious foundations of Kambuja during a period of about 250 years. The inscription is not dated, but the last date mentioned therein is śaka 974 (=1052 A.C.). The king Jayavarman II came from Java to rule over Kambuja, and the new cult was introduced shortly after his ascent to the throne. The story of this introduction is told in some details in the inscription.[2] The high priest of Jayavarman was a Brāhmaṇical sage named Śivakaivalya. This Brahmin was enjoying a piece of land in the village of Bhadrayogi in Indrapura given to his family long ago by the kings of Bhavapura (founded by Bhavavarman who was ruling about the middle of the 6th century).

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1 BEFEO XV, pp. 70-71.

2 *Ibid*:—

A xxvi (51) Hiraṇyadāma-dvija-puṅgavo' gryadhīr
ivāvjayoniḥ karuṇārdra āgataḥ/
(52) ananya-lavdhāṃ khalu siddhim ādarāt
prakāśayāmāsa mahībhṛtaṃ prati//

xxvii (53) sa bhūdharendrānumato' grajanmā
sa-sādhanāṃ siddhim adikṣad asmai/
(54) hotre hitaikānta-manaḥ-prasattiṃ
saṃvibhrate dhāma-vivṛṃhanāya//

xxviii (55) śāstraṃ Śiraścheda-Vināśikhākhayaṃ
Sammohanāmāpi Nayottarākhyaṃ/
(56) tat Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam asya
siddhyeva vipras samadarśayat saḥ//

xxix (57) dvijas samuddhṛtya sa śāstra-sāraṃ
rahasya-kauśalyadhiyā sayatnaḥ/
(58) siddhīr vvahantiḥ kila devarājā-
bhikhyāṃ vidadhre bhuvanarddhi-vṛddhyai//

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He was the guardian priest of a *śivaliṅga* installed in a temple in that village. Śivakaivalya, chosen as the priest by the new king, subsequently accompanied him to different cities founded by the latter. Now, a brahmin named Hiraṇyadāma came from Janapada (supposed to be some place in India) to the court of the new king Jayavarman and began to exercise a great spiritual influence on him. The king then authorised him to teach the new lore to Śivakaivalya, and to initiate the latter to the new cult. Then Hiraṇyadāma gave Śivakaivalya—*Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara*—the four śāstras which were the four faces of Tumvuru. Śivakaivalya was also initiated to the cult of *Devarāja* (*Kamrateṅ Jagat ta rāja* in Cambodian). Thus the new cult was introduced in Kambuja. The king Jayavarman, much attracted by it, accepted it as the religion of the kingdom, and ordered that the *yatis* of the *mātṛvaṃśa*[1] of Śivakaivalya only would be the legitimate guardians of this cult and would have the power to perpetuate it in future. The *Devarāja* was a *śivaliṅga*, and it was one of the most celebrated deities of Kambuja. But nothing is known as to the "four "*śāstras*" mentioned which prescribed this cult. Dr. B. R. Chatterji is the first to make some suggestions about their identification.[2] He relies on the informations supplied by Avalon,[3] and says, "There were three regions each with its special Tantras and that among the Tantras of the *viṣṇukrāntā* region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the *Sammohana* and the *Niruttara* Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (*Sammoha* and *Nayottora*) taught by Hiraṇyadāma. The Tantras *Muṇḍamālā* and *Chinnamastā* mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as *Śiraścheda*—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumvuru (of which, according to the inscriptions, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a gandharva, and there is a *Gandharva Tantra* in the *Viṣṇukrāntā* group."

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1 BEFEO, XV, pp. 70-71 :
B xxxi (1) tan mātṛvaṃśe yatayas striyo vā
jātā vi(dyā-vi)kra(ma)-yukta-bhāvaḥ//
(2) tad yājakās syur na kathañcid anya
iti kṣitīndra-dvija-kalpanāsit//

2 *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 273-4.

3 *Arthur Avalon, Principles of Tantra*, I, Intro., pp. lxv-lxvii.

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The classification, according to the *krāntās*, is not seen in the oldest Tāntrik texts, for example the *Yāmalas*, as far as I know. On the other hand, such classification seems to be arbitrary and of late origin. The names of 64 *tantras* attributed to each of these *krāntās* seem to be fictitious to some extent. So they do not throw much light on the texts introduced into Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. It is therefore necessary to go back to older and more authentic sources.

According to the oldest traditions known to me[1] the Tāntrik literature is classified according to the *Srotas* (=current; tradition), *pīṭhas* and *āmnāyas*. The *Srotas* or currents are three-fold: *dakṣiṇa* (right), *vāma* (left) and *madhyama* (middle). These are the three forces (*śakti-trayaṃ*) of Śiva. Besides these three currents which issue from Śiva, we have reference to other currents: like *Bhairava-srotas* from which distinctive tantras have issued forth. The classification into *pīṭhas* is four-fold: *vidyāpīṭha*, *mantrapīṭha*, *mudrāpīṭha* and *maṇḍalapīṭha*. The third classification, *viz.*, that into *āmnāyas*, is more common than the first two. The number of *āmnāyas* varies. But generally they are accepted to be five in number, issuing from the five mouths of Śiva.[2] Śiva is represented as having four faces turning towards the four cardinal points and one on the top. The eastern (*pūrva vaktra*) spoke the Vedas, the western (*paścima*), southern (*dakṣiṇa*), northern (*uttara*) and the upper (*ūrddhva*) mouths spoke the different kinds of Tantras. There is no trace of any classification according to the *krāntās*. The faces of Śiva represent his five aspects. They are known as *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta*, *and Īśāna* facing the *north*, *east*, *south*, *west* and *top* and representing the aspects of *Īśa*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara*, *Brahmā* and *Sadāśiva* respectively. The original Śaiva canon, the āgamas, are classified according to the faces which proclaimed them. (See *Hindu Iconography*, II, pt. II, pp. 366 ff). We should note in this connection that the *Sadyojāta* mouth

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1 This discussion is mainly based on the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* called *Srotanirṇaya*. The Ms. of this *yāmala* which I have examined is that preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. It was copied in the Nepal Saṃ. 172=1052 A.C.

2 Bhāṣkara Rāya in his commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* (See *Ānandāśram Ed.*, p. 24) quotes from Bhagavān Paraśurāma "*Pañcāmnāyān paramārtha-sārarūpān praṇināya iti.*"

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which represents the *Brahmā* aspect is the western face, and naturally proclaims the *Paścimāmnāya.*

One of the oldest Tāntrik texts preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library is the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā* written in the Gupta script of the 8th century A.C.[1] It is a collection of five *sūtras* which form a complete whole but each can be also counted separately and has its own chapters. These five sūtras are (1) *Laukika-dharma,* (2) *Mūlasūtra,* (3) *Uttarasūtra,* (4) *Nayasūtra* and (5) *Guhyasūtra.* The last of these five is more extensive than the others together, and the first *Laukika dharma* is really ignored by the text itself in counting in folio 27b of the text :

prathamaṃ mūlasutrantu dvitīyaṃ ādisajñitaṃ/
tṛtīyaṃ prathamaṃ nāma caturthaṃ pūrvasūtrakam//

Thus the four texts are called : (1) *Mūlasūtra,* (2) *Ādisūtra* = *Uttarasūtra* (3) *Prathama* = *Nayasūtra* (4) *Pūrva* = *Guhyasūtra.* The *Uttarasūtra* contains the names of 18 old *Śiva-śāstras* :

vijayaṃ prathamaṃ [hy e]ṣāṃ niśvāsaṃ tadanantaraṃ/
svāyambhuvam ataś caiva vāthulaṃ tadanataraṃ//
vīrabhadram iti khyātaṃ rauravaṃ mākuṭās tathā/
virasaṃ candrahāsaṃ ca jñānaṃ ca mukhavimbakam//
prodgītaṃ lalitañ caiva siddha-santānam eva ca/
sarvodgītaṃ ca vijñeyaṃ kiraṇaṃ pārameśvaraṃ// (fol. 24a).

The same list with some slight variations is given by the *Brahmayāmala* of which a Ms. written in 1052 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library.[2] In the 39th chapter (fol. 869b) we find mention of the following texts :

vijayaṃ caiva niśvāsaṃ svāyambhuvam ataḥ paraṃ/
vāthulaṃ [vīrabhadraṃ ca rauravaṃ mākuṭāstathā]//

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1 The Exalted Raj Guru Hemarāja Śarmā who has handled these Mss. for a long time is also of the same opinion. Mahāmahopadhyāya H. P. Śāstrī has noticed it in his catalogue, *Darbar Library Cat.,* Vol. I, p. 137. In his introduction to the Catalogue, p. LXXVII he also says that this Ms. "is written in transitional Gupta character which may be a century older than the *Pārameśvara Tantra* copied in 859 A.C."

2 See H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue,* II, p. 60.

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vireśaś ca tathā cānyaṃ tata ūrdhvaṃ nibodhata/
candrajñānañ ca vimbañ ca prodgītaṃ lalitaṃ tathā//
siddhisattvānakaṃ caiva sarvodgītam ataḥ paraṃ/
kiraṇaṃ ca mahādevi pārameśvara eva ca//

The second list is corrupt to some extent, though the Ms. of the *Brahmayāmala* which we have examined is generally a very correct one. Apparently the tradition about these texts was more living in the time when the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā* was composed, but it was not so when the *Brahmayāmala* was copied. In the interval the Tāntrik literature had become a fairly extensive one. The Tantras which were therefore considered to be authoritative in the 8th century and even prior to it were: (1) *Vijaya*, (2) *Niśvāsa*, (3) *Svāyambhuvamata*, (4) *Vāthula*, (5) *Vīrabhadra*, (6) *Raurava*, (7) *Mākuṭa*, (8) *Virasa*, *Vīreśa* (?), (9) *Candrahāsa*, *Candra* (?), (10) *Jñāna*, (11) *Mukhavimbaka*, *Vimba* (?), (12) *Prodgīta*, (13) *Lalita*, (14) *Siddhi*, (15) *Santāna*, *Sattvāna* (?), (16) *Sarvodgīta*, (17) *Kiraṇa*, (18) *Pāra meśvara*.[1]

The second text of the list: the *Niśvāsa* seems to be the same as the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā*. We have already noticed that the independent chapter-division of the 4 sūtras constituting the text points to the fact that they were studied separately. The word *saṃhitā* also may indicate that it was simply a compilation of different texts. Amongst the four texts, the *ādi* and the *prathama* are the *Uttara* and *Naya sūtras*. Their very position in the traditional computation: *mūla*, *ādi*, *prathama* and *pūrva* point out to their intimate mutual relation. It seems quite probable that they together constituted our *Nayottara* introduced in Kambuja in the beginning of the

1 The same list occurs also in the *Kāmikāgama* (p. 1), published from Madras by Alagappa Mudaliar. Cf. Also Gopināth Rao. *Hindu Iconography*, II, part I, pp. 367-368. Some of these texts exist in very old mss. The *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara tantras* are preserved in Nepal. The *Kiraṇa* was found by H. P. Śāstrī in a private collection at Bhatgaon. The ms. is very old and was copied in 924 A.C. See *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. xxiv and p. 99. The *Pārameśvaramatatantra* is preserved in the Darbar Library. That ms. was copied between the 11th and 12th century A.C. (Śāstrī, *ibid.*, p. xxi and p. 46). Prof. Bendall mentions an older ms. of that tantra copied in 859 A.C. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.

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9th century (802 A.C.) The contents of these two sūtras amply show that they were indispensable for the guidance of the priests. We can understand from them how the *Nayottara* could be useful to Śivakaivalya of Kambuja for conducting the newly introduced cult of Devarāja. The *Uttara sūtra* has five sections : (i) *śivālayasthāpana, mātṛkā, homa,* (ii) and (iii) *abhiṣeka* and *dīkṣā*, (iv) and (v) *jñānayoga*. The *Nayasūtra* has 4 sections : (i) *yāsa prakaraṇa* (?), (ii) *prakṛtivicāra*, (iii) *rūpavicāra*, (iv) *paramāmṛta-sadbhāvavicāra* (cf. also Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, pp. 138 f. ; his notice is however incomplete). Their date of composition cannot be ascertained at present. But it was certainly composed long before the date of compilation of the four texts together, which also was done much earlier than the date of copying the present text. Thus roughly it may be said that the *Nayottara sūtras* were composed in the 6th and 7th centuries A.C., and compiled with the other two texts in the 7th and 8th centuries A.C.

The *Brahmayāmala* (*loc. cit.*) says that the *Niśvāsa* and the other Tantras mentioned above came out of the middle current and were communicated by the upper mouth of Śiva (*madhyasrota-sambhūtā ūrdhvavaktrāt vinirgatā*). In another place (fol. 200*a*) the *Brahmayāmala* distinctly says that the three texts known as *Sammoha, Nayottara* and *Śiraścheda* issued from the left current (*vāmasrotas*)

Sammohañ ca tathā proktaṃ tathā caiva Nayottaram/
[Śiraśchedaṃ][1] tathā proktaṃ vāmasrotād vinirgatam//

The same texts are also mentioned in a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* namely the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Śāstrī*, I, ch. 40 see *infra*) :

savyasrotasi siddhāni śiraśchidra[2] bhayātmakam/
nayottaraṃ mahā-raudraṃ mahāsammohonaṃ tathā/
trikam etat mahādevi vāmasrotasi nirgataṃ/

The fact that the *Nayottara* is here attributed to the *vāmasrotas* (left current) whereas elsewhere it is, as a part of the *Niśvāsatantra*, attributed to the *madhyama srotas* (middle current) should not be considered as a serious obstacle in accepting the identification proposed. We have actually mention of texts coming out of the combined current

1 Though this portion is indistinct in the ms. the reading is supported by the text of the supplement, which repeats the same tradition.

2 It is evidently a mistake of the copyist for *śiraścheda*.

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of *vāmamadhyama* (*Vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva hi—Brahmayāmala*, fol. 200a). There are reasons to believe that the classification according to *srotas* was not very well defined.

The texts already discussed, as we have seen, mention two other texts viz. the *Sammoha* and the *Śiraścheda* of the 4 texts introduced in Kambuja. We should not therefore suppose that the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatantra* list were the only Tāntrik texts known in India in the 8th century A.C. According to the *Brahmayāmala* we are led to believe that these were the texts handed down by one tradition only, that of the *madhyasrotas*. The same text refers to the *Yāmalas* coming out from the Bhairava tradition: *Bhairava-srotas*. These *yāmalas* are: (1) *Rudra*, (2) *Kanda* (=*Skanda*) (3) *Brahma*, (4) *Viṣṇu*, (5) *Yama*, (6) *Vāyu*, (7) *Kuvera*, (8) *Indra*[1] It is true that these *Yāmalas* are not mentioned in the *Niśvāsa tantra*, but in the *Brahmayāmala* of which we get a ms. copied in 1052 A.C. So they all had come into existence long before this last date. But it is possible to determine the date of their composition more precisely.

The *Brahmayāmala* has its supplements and two of them are preserved in the Darbar Library (1) *Piṅgalāmata* (2) *Jayadrathayāmala*. The latter is a very extensive work containing about 24000 ślokas divided into 4 *ṣaṭkas* of 600 *Ślokas* each. The ms. of the *Piṅgalāmata* was copied in the Nepal Saṃv. 294=1174 A.C. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is a supplement[2] to the *Brahmayāmala* and is connected with the *Jayadratha*°. In the very first chapter of the *Piṅgalāmata* (fol. 26) it is said: *asya tantrasya Piṅgalāmatasaṃjñā. Pratiṣṭhākalpaṃ Jayadrathādhikāraṃ Brahmayāmalasya anuyāti, Piṅgalābhaṭṭārikāyāḥ nimittaṃ.* The *Piṅgalāmata* therefore presupposes the existence of the *Jayadrathayāmalaṃ* and professes to be inspired by the *Brahma*°. The *Jayadratha*° was therefore written long before 1174 A.C.

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1 *Brahmayāmala*, ch. 39, *Srotanirṇaya*, fol. 169a:
Rudrayāmalam anyañ ca tathā vai Kandayāmalaṃ/
Brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca//
Yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ Vāyuyāmalam eva ca/
Kuverayāmalañ caiva Indrayāmalam eva ca//
Bhairavāṣṭāṣṭam eta [°ṣṭakam etat] Vidyāpīṭhād vinirgataṃ/
Yāmalāni tathā cāṣṭau nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ//
The names of the eight Bhairavas also mentioned in this connection, are: *Sacchanda Bhairava, Krodha*°. *Unmatta*°, *Ugra*°, *Kapālī*°, *Jhaṅkāra*°, *Śekhara*°, *Vijaya*°.

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Through the two mss. (*ṣaṭkas* I and II) noticed by H. P. Śāstrī are of the 16th and 17th centuries.[1]

The *Jayadrathayāmala* is distinctly called *Śiraścheda*. We have already discussed the texts which mention *Śiraścheda* as being handed down by the left current (*vāmasrotas*) and communicated by the *vāmavaktra* (the mouth turning towards the left). All the colophons of the *Jayadrathayāmala* run thus :

> iti Bhairavasrotasi vidyāpīṭhe Śiraśchede ŚrīJayadrathayāmala -mahātantre caturviṃśatiśāhasre Śrīkālasaṃkarṣanyāṃ etc. (cf. Śāstri, loc. cit.)

The frame-work of the present tantra is as follows ; "Jayadratha the husband of Duryodhana's sister and the king of Sindhudeśa renounced the world and settled at Vadarikāśrama in the Himālayas for the purpose of practising austerities. He propitiated the goddess Pārvatī who introduced him to Śiva. The interlocution between these three is the substance of the Tantra. The first question asked was the nature of Mukti (salvation) which was explained according to the *Sāṅkhya* system but Śiva said that the telling on rosary the formula of *Kālasaṅkarṣaṇī* was the easiest and the shortest way to salvation" (Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 2). As regards the names mentioned in the colophon Śāstrī remarked in 1905 (*Catalogue*, I, p. xii) that these are "a string of names, the import of which, if it existed at all, is lost"

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1 Of the 4 *ṣaṭkas* of this text, preserved in the Darbar Library Śāstrī has noticed only two I, and II. The ms. of the *ṣaṭkas* I is dated Nepal Saṃ. 843 = 1723 A.C. (and not Nepal Saṃ. 847 as stated by Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, p. 1) and the ms. of the *ṣaṭka* II is dated N. S. 762 = 1642 A.C. The writing of *ṣaṭka* III appears to be of the same period but the *ṣaṭka* IV is preserved in an older ms. The colophon of this ms. (fol. 339b-340a) runs thus :— adhigata-sakalaśāstrasya yoginīvṛndavanditacaraṇayugalasya—vividha-vidyāvidyotitāṃ-tatkaraṇasya mahākāruṇikasya mahārājādhirājaśrīmajjayacandradevapūjitasya Kulācāryaśrīdharaṇipādevanāmadheyasya śiṣyeṇa paṇḍitaśrījomadevena likhitam iti. Jayacandra here mentioned seems to be the same as king Jayacandra of Kanauj who fell before the Muhammadans towards the end of the 12th century. The ms. was therefore copied either towards the end of that century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The script supports it. The Rājguru Hemarāja śarmā would attribute to the script used in this ms. a *Kanaujiyā* character (*Kānyakubjīya-srotas*).

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but in 1915 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 114) in connection with the *Tattvasadbhāvatantra* he explains them thus, "It is called *Bhairavasrotas* because Bhairava is the speaker and his speech began after he had snatched away the topmost head of Brahmā and put it above his four heads. It is called *Vidyāpāṭṭha* (sic. *vidyāpīṭha*) because it treats of the goddess *Sundarī*." But this explanation is not quite correct. (i) *Bhairavasrotas*, as we have already seen, means the Bhairava current or tradition. There are 8 Bhairavas from whom emanate the 8 *yāmalas*. So other Tantras of the *Bhairavasrotas* either must have been supplements to these 8 *yāmalas* or inspired by them. The *Jayadrathayāmala* emanates from the same Bhairava (viz. the *Unmatta Bhairava*) who narrated the *Brahmayāmala*. Bhairava is conceived as an aspect of Śiva. (ii) We have already discussed the significance of the 4 *pīṭhas*. *Vidyāpīṭha* is that method of *sādhanā* which relies on the *vidyā* or *mantras*. In the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala* it is the *Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī mantra* which is of importance. (iii) The significance of Śiraścheda is still unknown to me. I have not been able to trace the explanation offered by Śāstrī anywhere in the texts but some Paṇḍits of Nepal who are acquainted with the Tantras confirm his explanation. Some of the Purāṇas indeed preserve the story of Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but in a little different way. In the *Kūrmapurāṇa* it is stated that Brahmā was once boasting himself as the greatest of the universe. Śiva appeared on the scene and claimed that place for himself. Brahmā was, however, obstinate. Thereupon Śiva got angry and ordered his Bhairava to cut off that head of Brahmā which was reviling him. Śiva thereby committed a sin of which he got rid by going to Benares. The story of this rivalry between the Brahmā, Śiva, and also Viṣṇu is told also in the the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa*. In those texts, however, there is no question of cutting the head of Brahmā but Śiva establishes his superiority over the other two as the greatest architect of the universe and proved that Brahmā and Viṣṇu were only his different aspects. (See Gopinath Rao : *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, p. 105ff. and p. 296ff.). The same story evidently taken from the Purāṇas is told by Alberuni (Sachau II p. 147): "Brahman was in shape four-headed. Now there happened some quarrel between him and Śaṅkara i.e. Mahādeva—and the succeeding fight had this result that one of the heads of Brahman was torn off.....Thus the head of Brahman was dishonoured by the hand of Mahādeva, who took it always with him wherever he went and

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whatever he did.....After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared." This is briefly the story about Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but I have not yet found any reference to Śiva's putting it on his own head and communicating a class of Tantras through it. But it seems probable that the legend has some bearing on the *Sadyojāta* face of Śiva, which represents his Brahmā aspect and through which he told some Tantras. (See Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*, part II, p. 366-367).

It is now quite clear that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a *Śiraścheda* text. Not only the colophons of the text but the text itself clearly speak of it. Thus towards the end of the *ṣaṭka* III (fol 215a) we find the following text :—

Evam etan mayākhyātaṃ tantram etad anuttamaṃ/
Vasiṣṭhena purādhītaṃ naranārāyaṇair api//
Brahmaṇā matsamīpe tu śiraśchedaṃ mahābalaṃ/
Bahumantraguṇākīraṇaṃ tavādya prakaṭīkṛtaṃ/

Here the text is quite clear about the identity of the *Śiraścheda* and the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Now the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Piṅgalāmata* (of which we have a ms. dated 1174 A.C.), and apparently in the existing version of the *Brahmayāmala* (chap. 39, fol. 169a) as "*catuṣkaṣaṭkabhedas tu*." (This ms. of *Brahma*° is dated 1052 A.C.). A part of the *Jayadratha*° itself is preserved in a ms. of the 12th-13th century A.C. If we admit that it is this *Śiraścheda* which was taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A.C.) then the date of its composition would go back to the 8th century A. C., and necessarily the earlier versions of the *Brahmayāmala* and other *yāmalas* would go back to a still older period.

An apparently later tradition mentions another work as Śiraścheda. It is the *Karavīrayoga*,[1] also called *Parātantra*. A ms. of this *tantra*

1 *Karavīra* means a cremation ground cf. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV. 55—"*śmaśānaṃ karavīraṃ syāt*." But the word is also used as the name of particular *śmaśānas* at least in two places. In Nepal a *śmaśāna* was known as *karavīra*, (cf. S. Lévi.' *Le Nepal*, II, p. 282). In the Tibetan texts we find *Karavīra* as the name of a *Vihāra* in the city of Mālapura (Maṅgalapura ?) in Uḍḍiyāna (*Pag. Sam Jon Zang*, p. 137, index. iii ; cf. also Tāranāth, tr. Schiefner p. 324). It seems probable that in Uḍḍiyāna also there was a parti-

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written in śaka 1681 = 1603 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library. The colophons of some of its chapters are to be noticed in this connection :

fol. 21b—iti śrīmahāsrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantre krama (?) dvādaśasāhasrikāyāṃ kālikramanirṇayasūtraṃ ; fol. 25a—iti śrībhairavasrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantre paramārthanirṇayaḥ ; fol. 30a—iti śrī bhairavasrotasi śiraśchede mahākaravīrayoge parātantre kālikulakramaḥ samāptaḥ. On fol. 1a the following words are put into the mouth of the goddess:

Sarvasrotodbhavaṃ jñānaṃ tvā[ṃ] prasādā[t] vrutaṃ mayā/
yāmalāṣṭakapūravantu tattvāny ekavidhānita (?) //
śiraśchedaś ca bahudhā mahā-santhāna-ṣaṭkakaṃ/
parātantraṃ ca citkāra (phetkāra ?) sāgarāmbhāmahāsanaṃ...//
caturviṃśati vai lakṣāḥ śrutāḥ sarveṇa tu dhāriṇī//

In this list the *Karavīrayoga* apparently mentions the texts of the school to which it belongs. It mentions the original *Śiraścheda* : the *mahāsanthānaṣaṭkakaṃ*. The text here referred to seems to be no other than the *Jayadrathayāmala* containing the extensive *ṣaṭkas*. Thus it is evident that the original *Śiraścheda* text was the same as the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The *Karavīrayoga* apparently drew its inspiration from that text.

We have already seen that the *Jayadrathayāmala* came out either of the *vāmasrotas* or the *vāmamadhyamasrotas*. We should rather consider it to be issuing from the *vāmamadhyamasrotas* which was spoken by the western mouth *Paścimavaktra* because the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself speaks of its western origin [cf. *ṣaṭka* III, fol. 215a : *tadākṣa* (?) *paścimajanma jñātavyaṃ narasattamaiḥ*]. We have also seen that it is the *sadyojāta* face (= Brahmā) which turns westward. Thus we understand why the *Jayadrathayāmala*, communicated by the *paścimavaktra* is called *śiraścheda*.

As regards the third text *Sammoha* introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. nothing can be definitely stated at the present moment.

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cular cremation ground with that name which has been wrongly called a *vihāra*. Some Tāntric practices were to be performed only in the *śmaśānas*. Traces of such practices are also found in Buddhist sources. cf. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Nanjio) p. 308.

śunyāgāre śmaśāne vā vṛkṣamūle guhāsu vā/
palāle 'bhyavakāśe ca yogī vāsaṃ prakalpayet// verse 336.

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We have already discussed the references to this text in the *Brahmayāmala* (ms. copied in 1052 A.C.). There is no doubt that the *Sammoha* (var. *Sammohana*) mentioned therein was the same as that introduced into Kambuja. So it was known in India long before 802 A.C. when it was taken to Kambuja. It is difficult to determine if this *Sammoha* had to do anything with the *Sammohanatantra* we get at present. One *Sammohanatantra*, as has been already pointed out by Dr. Chatterji, is attributed to the *Viṣṇukrāntā* region. A *Sammohinītantra* belongs to the *Rathakrānta* region, (see Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* I, lxv, lxvi). We have besides a *Sammohanatantra* preserved in a late ms. in the Darbar Library. Śāstri (*Catalogue*, II, p. 183) also has noticed this ms. as a new one. The text is written in incorrect Sanskrit. All these texts of the *Sammohanatantra* might have been inspired by the original *Sammohatantra* which still remains to be discovered.

On the last and the 4th text taken to Kambuja in 802 A.C. viz. the *Vināśikha*, no light can be thrown at present. In the *Jayadratha yāmala* (*Saṭka* I) we find a list of Bhairavas who had attained success through the *Kālasaṃkarṣāṇī vidyā*. Amongst these Bhairavas we find the names of *Śikhā* and *Vināśikha* Bhairavas. There are *tantras* issuing from some of the *Bhairavas* of this list. There is the name of *Phetkāri Bhairava* from whom issued the *Phetakara tantra*. Consequently we are justified in supposing that there was a *tantra* named *Vināśikha tantra* which was connected with the name of *Vināśikha Bhairava*. If this identification is accepted then the *Vināśikha tantra* was intimately connected with the *Śiraścheda*, i.e. the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as the Kambuja inscription also would make us believe.

The texts thus being identified, it remains to be seen which is the god mentioned as *Tumvuru* and why are the four texts called "the four faces of Tumvuru." Dr. Chatterji says that Tumvuru is the name of a Gandharva and thinks that he had something to do with the *Gandharva tantra*. But the context has no bearing on any *tantra* connected with the name of *Tumvuru*. The inscription would have us believe that all the four texts were connected with that god. Tumbaru or Tumburu is recorded in all the lexicons as the name of a Gandharva but no detailed information is available on him. It is the name of one of the Yakṣa worshippers of the Jina (See Hemacandra—*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, I, 41 where the commentator explains the word as *tumbati ardati vighnān tumburuḥ*). The Buddhist texts mention him as the king of the Gandharvas. Thus

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in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, part 2, p. 288) amongst the Gandharva chieftains are mentioned Pañcaśikha and Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru. Then again in the *Sakkapañha suttanta* (*ibid.*, pp. 302, 303) Buddha being enchanted by the music of Pañcaśikha questions him whereupon the latter tells him the story of his love for Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru, the King of the Gandhabbas. In this story Pañcaśikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Beluva* wood. The Gandhabba Timbaru is also mentioned in the *Pāsādikasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of those Sūtras the name of the Gandharva is transcribed as *Tan-feou-lu* = *tām-bieu-ru = **tamburu* and as *Teou-feou-lou* = *Teu-bieu-ru = **tu(m)buru*. [cf. *Tripiṭaka*, New Tokio Ed. vol. I, pp. 80, 633]. These forms show that in the corresponding Chinese versions the names presuppose the forms *Tamburu*, and *Tumburu* and not *Timburu* as preserved in the Pāli texts. The Mahābhārata refers to Tumburu on several occasions: in Ādiparva (65.51): *supriyā cātibāhuś ca vikhyātau ca hāhā hūhūḥ/ Tumburuś ceti catvāraḥ smṛtāḥ Gandharvasattvamāḥ//* and again *Ādi* (159.54): *Gandharvaiḥ sahitaḥ śrīmān prāgāyataś ca Tumburuḥ*. In the first verse Tumburu is evidently used as a general designation of the four Gandharvas: *Supriyā*, *Atibāhu*, *Hāhā*, *Hūhū*, whereas in the second verse it is used in all appearance, as the name of one particular Gandharva, who was a musician. Whatever it may be, the number four seems to have been connected with the name of Tumburu, though it is difficult to determine at present whether it was originally the generic name of the four Gandharvas or the name of a particular Gandharva with four faces.[1] But there is no doubt that Tumburu

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1 There seems to have been a time when Śiva was four faced. The Mahābhārata preserves its traces (*Anuśāsana* 141. sl. 5ff. *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda*). Śiva tells Umā that it was simply to see her that he became four-faced through yogic power:

tāṃ didṛkṣur ahaṃ yogāc caturmūrttitvam āgataḥ/
caturmukhaś ca saṃvṛtto darśayan yogam uttamam//
pūrveṇa vadanenāham indratvam anuśāsmi ha/
uttareṇa tvayā sārdhaṃ ramāmy aham anindite//
paścimaṃ me mukhaṃ saumyaṃ sarvaprāṇisukhāvahaṃ/
dakṣiṇaṃ bhīmasaṅkāśaṃ raudraṃ saṃharati prajāḥ//

In the *Ādiparva* (216, śls. 22-28, Cal. Ed.) Maheśvara is stated to have done the same thing i.e. assumed four faces through *yoga* to

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was *par excellence* a musician. He is mentioned as an authority on the musical science.

The *Saṃgītāloka*, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are : (1) Brahmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Śivā, (5) Rambhā, (6) Tumburu, etc. (.....*Śivanandikeśvara śivārambhāsthatā tumburuḥ*.....cf. Śāstri, *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 72 and also *Introduction*, xxxv). These are the names of *gods* who revealed music to the mortals. Nandikeśvara is another name of Śiva ; Tumburu is the Gandharva. A stringed musical intrument, *Tamburā* is connected with his name. Though there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than *Śiva* himself. Both of them are represented as having four faces, and both of them are authorities on music. If this identification is accepted then a new light can be thrown on the text of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom. The four tantras : *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara* are said to be *Tumvuror vaktracatuṣkam*, not because they constituted the four faces of that god but because they issued forth from or were communicated by, his four mouths (*vaktra*). Besides we should note that *vaktra* really means mouth and not face. The four Tāntrik texts therefore seem to have represented four different *āmnāyas*, connected with the four

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see the newly created Tilottamā from all sides—"*evaṃ caturmukhaḥ sthāṇur mahādevo'-bhavat purā.*" In the sculptural representation also, though Mahādeva should have according to comparatively late texts five faces, the figures of the four-faced Śiva are not rare. Gopinath Rao in his *Hindu Iconography* (vol. II, part II, pl. cxv and p. 373) reproduces the image of a Sadāśiva-mūrti coming from Ellora. The image has four faces. Mr. Rao for making it agree with traditional form of Śiva says that. "The figure has four faces and since all its arms are broken, it is not possible to say how many it originally possessed." But there is no mark of a broken face and there is no difficulty in admitting that it was from the beginning four faced. At Yun Kang in North China, the Buddhist sculpture which was directly inspired by Indian art there is a representation of Maheśvara with four faces. It belongs to the 5th and 6th centuries A.C. Maheśvara is sitting on a bull. The four faces are turning to four directions. Somebody is standing near him carrying a trident (*triśūla*). See Siren—*Chinese sculpture*, vol. II, Pl. 34.

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faces of Tumburu, who was in all appearance, an emanation of Śiva himself like the Bhairavas.

The introduction of the four texts throws some light on another problem viz. that of the relation of Kambuja with northern India. Dr. Chatterji has already tried to trace some of the elements of Kambuja culture to North Indian origin (*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* p. 253 ff.). Now there are reasons to believe that the four Tantras brought to Kambuja by Hiraṇyadāma were of North Indian origin. The *Piṅgalāmata* which we have seen to be a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* and to be connected with the *Śiraścheda-Jayadrathayāmala* is very clear on this point. On *folio* 5b we find mention of the country where the *Śiva-sādhanā* was in vogue. It is no doubt the country of the Āryas—the *Āryâvarta* :

Vindhyottaragatenaiva Magadhāccāpareṇa tu
Himādre dakṣiṇe bhāge pañcālāt pūrvatas tathā
Āryāvarta iti khyātas tadbhavācāryasādhakau
Agrajanmakulodbhūtaḥ sarvasādhāraṇo yataḥ
Viśeṣaṇañ ca tathā brūmi agraṇīśaktivācakaḥ
Śaktyantaṃ janitaṃ janma janmāgrety abhidhīyate
Ka-pūrvāṣṭavinirmukt[ā] anyadeśodbhavāvapi
Kāmarūpañca kāśmīrau kāliṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau
Kāñcīkośalakāveryā-rāṣṭrajāvapi varjayet
Kimarthaṃ cet tatsidhyarthaṃ-mokṣārthaṃ sarvajau śubhau,
Śivavratadharācāryo nātidīrgho'tihrasvakaḥ etc.

This passage mentions the countries of which the people are unfit for *Śivaṣādhanā* on account of their physical deformities. These countries all begin with *ka* : Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñcī, Kośala, Kāverī-rāṣṭra (?). This shows that the oldest Brāhmaṇical *tantras* which included the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the 8 *yāmalas* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India. The four texts, the *Nayottara, Śiraścheda, Vināśikha* and *Sammoha*, taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. would therefore be of North-Indian origin.

Thus we see that the four Tāntrik texts mentioned in the Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom as having been introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. during the reign of Jayavarma II are partly preserved in old mss. in the Nepal Darbar Library. The *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya-* and *Uttara sūtras* which form a part of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* now preserved in a ms. of Gupta writing of the 8th century A.C. It was composed much earlier than the date of

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the ms. and may be safely placed in the 6th—7th century A.C. ; The *Śiraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* of which an extensive text copied in the 12th-13th century A.C. exists in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśikha* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadratha yāmala* and the *Sammoha*, the original, on which the later Tantras of that name were based. The four Tantras were of North-Indian origin.

Tumbaru appears to have been an emanation of Śiva himself, who is represented as having communicated the four texts through his four mouths.

P. C. BAGCHI.

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MISCELLANY

The Rasārnavālamkāra of Prakāsavarsa

Students of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra-śāstra are indebted to Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma of the University of Madras for publishing in the *IHQ*, vol. V, pp. 173f. the text of Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* along with an excellent account of the work in English. During a week's stay in Madras in 1924 I had an opportunity of examining an imperfect manuscript-copy of the work in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (which Pandit Venkatarama appears also to have utilised); but, as I could not devote much time to it, my examination was necessarily cursory, and the brief account which I gave of it in *BSOS*, iv, pt. 2, p. 283 was not only incomplete but incorrect in one particular in the description of the work. Pandit Venkatarama has now published the text, as well as a fairly full account, from two manuscripts, and I must thank him for the correction he has made of my error; but I still find from a careful study of the published text that I was not mistaken in regarding this work as a comparatively late composition, belonging to a period probably later than that of Bhoja.

Pandit Venkatarama Sharma claims that the *Rasārṇava* of Prakāśavarṣa is "the earliest work on Poetics after the Nāṭyaveda" of Bharata, and that "Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and after Bāṇabhaṭṭa, i. e., between 650 A.C. and 750 A.C." But it appears to me that the learned Pandit is entirely on the wrong track in his views about Prakāśavarṣa's relation to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Apart from the very elaborate treatment of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra*, which one can hardly expect in such a presumably early work, there is a distinct reference in it to *dhvani*, and in most of his definitions and apparently novel classifications Prakāśavarṣa appears to follow very closely the school of opinion which is represented in Sanskrit Poetics by the work of Bhoja. If Pandit Venkatarama had closed his Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and opened his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* he would have at once found out the source of most of Prakāśavarṣa's information, and would have seen that, like Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa does not hesitate in appropriating and copying verses from Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, a procedure which appears to have misled his editor.

I have already attempted to shew in my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, pp. 261f. that Bhoja, like the author of the *alaṃkāra*-section of the

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Agni-purāṇa, follows a tradition of thought and speculation which is different in many respects from that of the earlier established writers on Poetics, although his work is essentially an eclectic compilation, which conforms to the teachings of no particular orthodox school but gathers its material from all sources. The importance given to *rasa* in conformity with the general standpoint of the earlier Rasa and Dhvani schools (in spite of a somewhat elaborate treatment of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* which are not directly correlated to *rasa*) as well as the presence of verses culled from different older writers (especially Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha) need not surprise us in such a work. Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* is marked by the same features, and he shows the same reverence to Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, whose works supplied to him, as to Bhoja, a large number of unacknowledged quotations and ideas. The very fact that he refers to and quotes from a Bhāmaha or a Mahābhāmaha (although these quotations are not to be found in Bhāmaha's known work) precludes us, apart from every other consideration, from placing Prakāśavarṣa before Bhāmaha.

Coming to the subject-matter of the work itself one can see at once that there is a close agreement in the definitions and classifications of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* between Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava*, No doubt, Prakāśavarṣa here and there adds to or rejects a *guṇa* or an *alaṃkāra* from the enumeration of Bhoja. Thus, of the 24 *śabda-guṇas* mentioned by Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa accepts 22, leaving aside *gati* and *prauḍhi* mentioned by Bhoja ; and to the 24 *arthālaṃkāras* of Bhoja Prakāśavarṣa adds four more. Apart from such legitimate additions and modifications, the *guṇas*, *doṣas* and *alaṃkāras* in Prakāśavarṣa are named, defined, classified in the same way and mentioned almost in the same order (but for exegencies of metre) as in Bhoja. But the agreement is more than that. The definitions and classifications are mostly copied *verbally* by Prakāśavarṣa from Bhoja. Some of the classifications and definitions are peculiar to Bhoja, mentioned by him for the first time, and some are mentioned by no other rhetoricians. All these are also copied by Prakāśavarṣa. It would be futile, therefore, to compare Prakāśavarṣa's treatment with those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and it is not surprising that Pandit Venkatarama has found more points of confusing divergence than agreement in such a procedure.

As the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* is a well-known and easily avail-

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able text, it is not necessary for me to cite here all the points of agreement occurring throughout Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* wherever the topics dealt with are common to the two works. But I adduce here a few typical instances in support of the statements made above. The general scheme and classification of *guṇas* and *doṣas* are almost identical in Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa, and the same ideas and terminology are employed throughout. The division of *doṣas* into three classes (as relating to *pada*, *vākya* and *vākyārtha*), which is accepted by both, is indeed much older; but while Bhoja, for the sake of a certain symmetry and uniformity of treatment, enumerates sixteen *doṣas* respectively of *pada*, *vākya* and *vākyārtha*, Prakāśavarṣa accepts from them only fourteen *pada-doṣas*, fourteen (but really fifteen) *vākya-doṣas* and sixteen *vākyārtha-doṣas*, using nearly the same nomenclature and almost identical definitions. We give them here in parallel columns, so that the striking agreements, as well as the slight differences, will be clear at a glance:

Bhoja[1]	*Prakāśavarṣa*
1. *Pada-doṣas* (16 in number)	1. *Pada-doṣas* (14 in number; slightly different order)
asādhu (śabda-śāstra-viruddhaṃ yat)	asādhu (śabda-śāstra-viruddhaṃ yat)
aprayukta (kavibhir na prayuktaṃ yat)	aprayukta (na prayuktaṃ kavīndrair yat)
kaṣṭa (padaṃ śruter a-sukhadam)	kaṣṭa (śravaṇa-durbhagam)
anarthaka (pāda-pūraṇa-mātrārtham)	anarthaka (pāda-pūraṇa-mātraṃ yat)
anyārtha (rūḍhi-cyutaṃ padaṃ yat)	[To this really corresponds Pkv's asamartha, see below.]
apuṣṭārtha (yat tu tucchābhidheyaṃ syāt)	apuṣṭārtha (vācya-tucchatayā kliṣṭam)
asamartha (asaṅgataṃ padaṃ yat)	asamartha (yad baddhaṃ rūḍhivartma-vyatikramāt)— cf. Bhoja's anyārtha

1 The references are to the Kāvyamālā edition (Kāvyamālā 95, Bombay, 1925) of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, but A. Borooah's edition (Calcutta, 1884) has also been consulted.

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Bhoja	*Prakāśavarsa*
apratīta (tad uddiṣṭaṃ prasiddhaṃ śāstra eva yat)	apratīta (śāstra eva prayuktaṃ yat)[1]
kliṣṭa (dūre yasyārtha-saṃvittiḥ)	kliṣṭa (pāramparyeṇa cārthasya sūcakam)
gūḍhārtha (aprasiddhārthaṃ prayogam)	gūḍhārtha (aprasiddhārtha-sambaddham)
neyārtha (sva-saṃketa-prakḷptārtham)	neyārtha (svayaṃ kalpita-saṃketam)
sandigdha (na yat padaṃ niścayakṛt)	sasaṃśaya (yatrārthāntara-sambandhaḥ)
viparīta (viruddhārtha-prakalpanam)	
aprayojaka (aviśeṣa-vidhāyakam)	aprayojaka (vivakṣita-prameyasya nopakāri)
deśya (avyutpattimat padam)	deśya (deśa-rūḍhi-gataṃ padam)
grāmya—(a) aślīla or asabhyārtha (b) amaṅgala and (c) ghṛṇāvat, 3 kinds.	grāmya—(a) asabhya (b) amaṅgala and (c) ghṛṇākara, 3 kinds.

The agreements are no less close and striking in the case of *vākya-doṣas* :

2. *Vākya-doṣas* (16 in number)	2. *Vākya-doṣas* (14 in number but really 15; slightly different order)
śabda-hīna (apaśabdavat)	śabda-hīna (bhinna-bhāṣā-padāviddham)
krama-bhraṣṭa (ārthaḥ śābdo vā yatra na kramaḥ)[2]	krama-bhraṣṭa (śabdārtha-vyutkramo yatra)
visandhi (visaṃhito virūpo vā yatra sandhiḥ)	visandhi (viruddha-sandhi niḥsandhi)
punaruktimat (padaṃ padārthaś cābhinnau yatra)	punaruktimat (tādṛk pada-padārthānāṃ nibandhe)
vyākīrṇa (mitho yasmin vibhaktīnām asaṅgatiḥ)	vyākīrṇa (aneka-pada-santāna-vyāhata-smṛtibhiḥ padair yojanā yatra)

1 The reading actually is *śāstras.....yuktaṃ yad* (with lacunae).

2 I prefer this reading of A. Borooah's text : the Kāvyamālā edition reads *ārthaḥ śābdo vā yatra tatkramaḥ.*

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saṃkīrṇa (vākyāntara-padair miśram)	saṃkīrṇa (vākyāntarapadonmiśram)
apada (vibhinna-prakṛtisthādi padayukti)	
vākya-garbhita (vākyāntara-sagarbhaṃ yat)	[vākya-] garbhita (vākyāntara-sagarbhaṃ yat)
bhinna-liṅga (yatropamā bhinna-lingā)	bhinna-liṅga (aliṅgatvād upamānopameyayoḥ)
bhinna-vacana (yad bhinna-vacanopamam)	bhinna-vacana (yasmin vacana-vaiṣamyam upamānopameyayoḥ)
nyūnopama (nyūnam upamāna-viśeṣaṇaiḥ)	nyūnopama (nyūnair upamāyā viśeṣaṇaiḥ)
adhikopama (adhikaṃ yat punas taiḥ syāt)	adhikopama (viśeṣaṇādhikaupamyam)
bhagna-chanda (yac chando-bhaṅgavad vacaḥ) / bhagna-yati (asthāne viratir yasya)	bhinna-vṛtta (chando-lakṣaṇa-hīnam) 2 kinds, tad varṇa-yati-bhedena dvidhā
a-śarīra (kriyā-pada-vihīnaṃ yat)	khañja (kriyā-virahitaṃ vākyam)
a-rītimat (guṇānāṃ dṛśyate yatra śleṣādīnāṃ viparyayaḥ) 9 kinds, according as each doṣa is a viparyaya of each of the corresponding 9 guṇas with the exception of samādhi.	śleṣādi-guṇa-hīnam—10 kinds, in the same way as in Bhoja, but samādhi-guṇa is included.

Those who are not yet convinced by these instances will find the scheme and classification of *vākyārtha-doṣas* even more strikingly close:

Bhoja	*Prakāśavarṣa*
3. *Vākyārtha-doṣas* (16 in number)	3. *Vākyārtha-doṣas* (16 in number)
apārtha (samudāyārtha-śūnyaṃ yad vacaḥ)	apārtha (samudāyārtha-śūnyaṃ yat)
vyartha (gatārthaṃ yat, yacca syān niṣprayojakam)	vyartha (yad aprayojakaṃ[1] yacca gatārtham)
ekārtha (uktyabhinnārtham)	ekārtha (uktyabhinnārtham)[2]

1 The text reads : *aprayojanam.*

2 The reading *uktābhinnārtham* is obviously a mislection.

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sasaṃśaya (sandigdhārtham)	sasaṃśaya (yatrārthasya na niścayaḥ)
apakrama (vākyaṃ yat tu krama-bhraṣṭam)	apakrama (paurvāparya-viparyayaḥ)
khinna (jātyādyuktāvanirvyūḍham)	khinna (jātyādyuktāvanirvyūḍham),[1]
atimātra (yat sarva-lokātītārtham)	atimātra (lokātīta ivārtho yaḥ)
paruṣa (yat tu krūrārtham atyartham)	paruṣa (ati-krūras tu vākyārthaḥ)
virasa (aprastuta-rasaṃ yat)	virasa (aprākṛta-rasam)
hīnopama (hīnaṃ yatropamānaṃ syāt)	hīnopama (hīnaṃ yatropamānaṃ syāt)
adhikopama (tad eva yasminn-adhikam)	adhikopama (yatropamānam adhikam)
asadṛśopama (yat tv atulyopamānam)	visadṛśopama (atulyam upamānaṃ cet)
aprasiddhopama (aprasiddhopamānaṃ yat)	aprasiddhopama (aprasiddhopamānaṃ cet)
niralaṃkāra (yad alaṃkāra-hīnam)	niralaṃkāra (alaṃkāra-vivarjitam)
aślīla (aślīlārtha-pratīti-kṛt)	aślīla (yad asabhyārtha-sambaddham)
viruddha—3 kinds (a) pratyakṣa-viruddha (b) anumāna-viruddha and (c) āgama-viruddha, each of which again is of three kinds—9 kinds in all.	viruddha—3 kinds (a) pratyakṣa-viruddha (b) anumāna-viruddha and (c) āgama-viruddha, each of which again is of three kinds, as in Bhoja —9 kinds in all.

It may be urged that most of these *doṣas* and their descriptions will be met with in other writers, and that in the definition and arrangement of *doṣas*, which are more or less standardised, the verbal or other agreements need not be taken as absolute proofs of borrowing. But when we come to the treatment of *guṇas*, the case is more convincing. It is well-known that in spite of the influence of Daṇḍin and his school, as well as of the tradition of opinion followed in the *alaṃkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja adopts a terminology and

1 The text has lacunae here.

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scheme of *guṇas*, which are peculiar to himself and which differ in many points from those of his known predecessors ; but here also Prakāśavarṣa follows him pretty closely. To the orthodox ten *guṇas* of *śabda* and *artha* respectively of Vāmana, viz., *śleṣa*, *prasāda*, *mādhurya*, *samatā*, *saukumārya*, *artha-vyakti*, *ojas*, *kānti*, *udāratā*, and *samādhi* (which are, however, sometimes defined slightly differently by later writers who accept them), Bhoja adds *aurjitya*, *udāttatā* *preyas*, *suśabdatā*, *saukṣmya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saṃkṣepa*, *vistara*, *sammitatva*, *bhāvikatva*, *rīti*, *ukti*, *gati* and *prauḍhi*, thus enumerating 24 *guṇas* in all ; which unique arrangement gives us perhaps the largest number mentioned by any author. Prakāśavarṣa accepts the nomenclature and definition of the first 22 almost verbally, omitting *gati* and *prauḍhi* from his list.

Bhoja	*Prakāśavarṣa*
Śabda-guṇas, (24 in number)	*Śabda-guṇas* (22 in number)
śleṣa (su-śliṣṭa-padatā)	śleṣa (yatra bandho'ti-saṃśliṣṭaḥ)
prasāda (prasiddhārtha-padatvam)	prasāda (prasiddhārtha-pada-nyāsaḥ)
samatā (yan mṛdu-prasphuṭonmiśra- varṇa- bandha- vidhiṃ prati a-vaiṣamyeṇa bhaṇanam)	samatā (bandho mṛdu-sphuṭonmiśra-varṇa-janmā, na saṅkaraḥ)
mādhurya (yā pṛthak-padatā vākye)	mādhurya (arthocita-vaco-bandhaḥ)
sukumāratā (aniṣṭhurākṣara-prāyam)	sukumāratā (akaṭhorākṣara-nyāsaḥ)
artha-vyakti (yatra sampūrṇa-vākyatvam)	artha-vyakti (sampūrṇa-vākyatā)
kānti (yad ujjvalatvaṃ bandhasya)	kānti (bandhasyojjvalatā)[1]
audārya (vikaṭākṣara-bandhatvam)	audārya (bandha-vaikaṭyam)
udāttatā (ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yogaḥ)	udāttatā (ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam)
ojas (samāsa-bhūyastvam)	ojas (samāsa-bhūyastvam)
aurjitya (gāḍha-bandhatā)	aurjitya (bandha-gāḍhatvam)
preyas (priyatarākhyānaṃ cāṭūktau)	preyas (preyārtha-pada-vinyāsaḥ)
suśabdatā (vyutpattiḥ sup-tiṅāṃ yā)	suśabdatā (yā subanta-tiṅantānāṃ vyutpattiḥ)

1 The text has lacunae here.

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samādhi (anya-dharmāṇāṃ yad anyatrādhiropaṇam)	samādhi (anya-dharmasya bhaved anyatra ropaṇam)
saukṣmya (antaḥ saṃjalpa-rūpatvaṃ śabdānām)	saukṣmya (śabdānām antaḥ saṃjalpa-rūpatā)
gāmbhīrya (dhvanimattā)	gāmbhīrya (dhvanimattā)
vistara (vyāsenoktiḥ)	vistāra (vyastam)
samkṣepa (samāsenābhidhānaṃ)	samkṣepa (abhidhānaṃ samāsena)
sammitatva (yāvadartha-padatvam)	sammitatva (yāvadartha-padatvam)
bhāvikatva (bhāvato vākya-vṛttir yā)	bhāvikatva (bhāvābhivyañjakā vāṇī)
gati (kramo yaḥ syād arohāvarohayoḥ)	
rīti (upakramasya nirvāhaḥ)	rīti (upakramasya nirvāhaḥ)
ukti (viśiṣṭā bhaṇitir yā syāt)	ukti (arthāntareṇa[1] cārthasya bhaṇanāt)
prauḍhi (ukteḥ prauḍhaḥ parīpākaḥ)	

It is not necessary to dilate on this point further and mention the *artha-guṇas* which betray similar parallelism. Prakāśavarṣa's discussion as to how *doṣas* sometimes become *guṇas*, which follows this topic, closely copies from Bhoja. Indeed the borrowing goes on practically throughout the whole work. It is a pity that the *rasa*-chapters, which give the name to the work, are incomplete in Prakāśavarṣa's published text; if we had the whole of it, we would perhaps have seen the same influence not only of the somewhat unique *rasa*-chapters of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* but also probably of his much larger and more exclusive *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. Coming to the treatment of the *alaṃkāras*, one finds that Bhoja's classification of figures as *bāhya*, *ābhyantara* and *bāhyābhyantara* is also accepted. In order to preserve a certain uniformity and symmetry of treatment (which is also noticeable in his classification of *guṇas* and *doṣas*), Bhoja mentions six kinds each of *rīti*, *vṛtti chāyā*, *mudrā*, *ukti*, *bhaṇiti*, *gumphanā*, *śayyā* and *paṭhiti*, which are included in the treatment of *śabdālaṃkāras*. Most of these are admitted and dealt with in the same way by Prakāśavarṣa; but as in the case of *guṇas* and *doṣas*, he is eclectic with regard to the number he accepts, in many cases omitting one or two kinds from the enumera-

1 The text has lacunae here, which is supplied by the editor as *vināntareṇa*.

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tion of Bhoja. Of the six *rītis* of Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa accepts five, omitting *māgadhī*; to the four orthodox *vṛttis* Bhoja adds two more, but Prakāśavarṣa mentions only five. Of the six kinds respectively of *mudrā*, *chāyā* and *bhaṇiti*, again (which are not dealt with by any of the early writers), only four kinds of each are admitted by Prakāśavarṣa. But Bhoja's six types of *yukti* are repeated faithfully as six by Prakāśavarṣa,[1] who omits altogether the treatment of *ukti*, *gumphanā* (for which perhaps *ghaṭanā* is substituted ?), *śayyā* and *paṭhiti*. Coming to *śleṣa* we find Bhoja's six kinds of *śleṣa* are mentioned also by Prakāśavarṣa, while *praśnottara* and *śravyatā* (*śravya kāvya* as Bhoja calls it) are similarly given as six. Some of these classifications and definitions will probably be traced to other writers: but the agreements between Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa are too close to be mistaken. It is not necessary to cite more instances, but what is given above will indicate clearly the sources of most of Prakāśavarṣa's information, although it must be remembered that the *Rasārṇava* is a much smaller manual than the almost encyclopædic *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

Some of the peculiar and characteristic definitions which are, so far as we know, given for the first time by Bhoja are also to be found in Prakāśavarṣa. Instances have already been noticed in the above account, but one or two characteristic points may be cited here. I have tried to shew elsewhere[2] that Bhoja eclectically arranges the teachings of the earlier schools in the light of a tradition of opinion which is peculiar in some respects and different from that of the prevalent schools; but he ignores entirely the implications of the *dhvani*-theory, although he does not hesitate to appropriate *kārikās* from the *Dhvanyāloka*. That Bhoja was aware, however, of the concept of *dhvani*, which must have been fully established in his time, is indicated by the fact that he attempts to include the idea in the *śabdaguṇa gāmbhīrya*, which is defined by him as *dhvanimattā*. This definition is verbally reproduced by Prakāśavarṣa.[3] Again, Bhoja admits the philosophical idea of *upamāna* (as a means of knowledge) in a poetic figure of that name

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1 The editor (p. xvii) makes a slip when he speaks of *chāyā*, instead of *yukti*, as six.

2 *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, *loc. cit.*

3 The definition is also copied by Vidyānātha who is one of the few writers who follow Bhoja's elaborate classification of *guṇas*, although Vidyānātha accepts *dhvani* as essential.

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and distinguishes it as a figure from the more well-known *upamā*.[1] This is a treatment peculiar to himself and is accepted by no writer on Poetics (so far as I know) except Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Kuvalayānanda*. The figure *upamāna*, as conceived and defined by Bhoja, is also to be found in Prakāśavarṣa.

This wholesale similarity of phraseology and ideas occurring throughout in the two works (even in the matter of peculiar schemes and treatment of characteristic points) cannot indeed be explained as accidental coincidences, or mere repetition of standardised technicalities. It may be contended, however, that what is said above does not necessarily prove that Prakāśavarṣa has actually borrowed from Bhoja ; for it is possible to hold that Bhoja might have modelled his bigger compilation upon the smaller manual of Prakāśavarṣa, or that both of them, belonging to the same school of thought, probably drew upon the same source. All this may be argued, but it cannot be maintained that Prakāśavarṣa is a very early writer, earlier even than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. The supposition, however, of Bhoja's borrowing from Prakāśavarṣa appears to me to be very unlikely. While Bhoja's work displays a systematic and elaborate treatment (in spite of its peculiar theoretic standpoint), reinforced by abundant wealth of illustrations, which lifts it much above an average compilation, Prakāśavarṣa's work is nothing more than a short compilation of definitions and classifications. The *Rasārṇava* has the appearance of having been a practical manual or text book, and as such it is not unlikely that it was compiled chiefly by wholesale appropriations from Bhoja's standard work, with just a few pieces of supplementary information culled from other sources. In whichever way the question of borrowing be decided, it is clear, however, that Prakāśavarṣa, like Bhoja, belonged to a tradition of opinion which is distinct from that of the established schools, and of which the earliest known example is to be found in the *alaṃkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa*. The date of this section at least of the Purāṇa cannot be fixed too early, and I have tried to shew elsewhere that it probably belongs to the 9th century A. C. Prakāśavarṣa must at any rate be later than this date. He must also have been later than Ānandavardhana who established the *dhvani*-theory in the struggle of the schools ; for Prakāśavarṣa, like Bhoja, is aware of the concept of *dhvani* and includes it, as we have already seen, in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīrya*. The very elaborate treatment of

1 See *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 14.

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guṇa and *doṣa* would by itself place him later than Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, upon whose scheme this treatment attempts in its own way to improve, while the treatment of the *alaṃkāras* in the same way supports and confirms this conclusion. The statements, therefore, that Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* is "the earliest work on Poetics after the Nāṭyaveda" and that he "must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin" appear to me to be misconceived and uncritical.

Nevertheless, the work is interesting and important as representing, like Bhoja's work from which it draws its material, a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from accepted views of the established schools of Sanskrit Poetics. As such, its publication has been well deserved.

S. K. DE

A Note on the Salaries and Allowances detailed in the Kauṭilīya

Ṛtvij (sacrificial priest) Ācārya (teacher) Mantrin (councillor) Purohita (royal priest) Senāpati (commander-in-chief) Yuvarāja (crown-prince) Rājamātṛ (king's mother) Rājamahiṣī (queen)	48,000 (paṇas)[1]
Dauvārika (gate-keeper) Antarvaṃśika (superintendent of the ladies' apartments) Praśāstṛ (superintendent in charge of royal writs) Samāhartṛ Sannidhātṛ	24,000 „

1 Per month. For discussion of this point, see *infra*.

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Kumāra Kumāramātṛ Nāyaka Pauravyāvahārika Kārmāntika Each member of the Mantriparişad Rāṣṭrapāla Antapāla	12,000 (paṇas)
Śreṇīmukhya Hastimukhya Aśvamukhya Rathamukhya Pradeṣṭṛ	8,000 ,,
Pattyadhyakṣa Aśvādhyakṣa Rathādhyakṣa Hastyadhyakṣa Dravyavanapāla Hastivanapāla	4,000 ,,
Rathika Anīka Cikitsaka Aśvadamaka Vardhaki Yonipoṣaka	2,000 ,,
Kārtāntika Naimittika Mauhūrtika Paurāṇika Sūta Māgadha Purohitapuruṣa Each superintendent (adhyakṣa) of a department	1,000 ,,
Skilled Pādāta Saṃkhyāyaka Lekhaka, etc.	500 ,,

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Kuśīlava	250 (paṇas)
Tūryakara	500 „
Kāru Śilpin	120 „
Catuṣpada-paricāraka Dvipada-paricāraka Pārikarmika Aupasthāyika Pālaka Viṣṭi Bandhaka	60 „
Āryayukta Ārohaka Māṇavaka Śailakhaṇaka	500 to 1,000 „
All teachers and learned men for their services	500 to 1,000 „ each
Dūta of medium quality	10 paṇas for each Yojana up to 10 Yojanas and twice that amount for each Yojana up to 100 Yojanas
One who represents the king in the Rājasūya and such other sacrifices	3 times the amount paid to others in the Govt. service similar to him in learning
Sārathi (charioteer) of the king in the sacrifices	1,000 (paṇas)
Spies: Kāpaṭika Udāsthita Gṛhapatika Vaidehaka Tāpasa	1,000 „
Grāmabhṛtaka Satrin Tīkṣṇa Rasada Bhikṣukī	500 „

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Cārasañcārin	250 (paṇas) or in proportion to work done

Dr. R. Shamasastry considers that the amounts mentioned above are the annual salaries of the members of the staff against whose designations they appear. But I think that he has not taken into account the difficulty that this assumption may land us in. The minimum wages in the list is 60, i.e., 60 paṇas.[1] According to the direction given in the *Kauṭilīya*[2] for commuting the salaries into those in kind [ṣaṣṭivetanasyāḍhakaṃ kṛtvā hiraṇyānurūpaṃ bhaktaṃ kuryāt i.e., '60 paṇas = 1 āḍhaka of the staple food-grains' (such as rice, or wheat)], the salary of 60 paṇas can purchase or be substituted by only 32 seers, or at most, 2 Mans (Maunds) of the staple food-grain.[3] This can hardly be the living wages of a man for a month, not to speak of a year, whereas the *Kauṭilīya*[4] says that the amounts mentioned in the text are such as can keep the employees contented and above temptation to do harm to their master. Hence, all the amounts stated above as salaries are for a month and not for a year.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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1 In the list of figures representing the salaries, the denomination of the coins has been mentioned only in connection with the remuneration of the Dūta (messenger), viz., '10 paṇas for each Yojana up to 10 Yojanas, etc.'

2 *K.*, V. ch. 3, p. 249.

3 According to *K.*, II, ch. 19, 1 Āḍhaka = $\frac{1}{4}$ Droṇa. It is found in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (s. v. Droṇa) that one mode of calculation has 1 Droṇa = 4 Āḍhakas = 1024 Muṣṭis, and another mode has 1 Droṇa = 2 Āḍhakas = 64 Seers. Hence, if we rely on the traditional practice of taking 8 Muṣṭis as the equivalent of 1 Seer, we find that both the aforesaid modes support 1 Āḍhaka as equal to 32 Seers. Even if we take the equivalent of the measure as it obtains in Bengal (See Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, s. v. Āḍhaka), 1 Āḍhaka can come up to only 164 lbs. avds. or 2 Mans.

4 *K.*, V, ch. 3, p. 247.

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Dr. Acharya on "Fine Arts"

Regarding the article "Fine Arts" by Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., PH. D., D. LITT., published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V, no. 2 (June 1929), I beg to differ from the learned writer on some points :

Dr. Acharya referring to the arts in connection with the schooling of Mahāvīra quotes the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, ch. XXI, 6, 7 and states that—"He (Mahāvīra) studied the seventy-two arts..... His father procured him a beautiful and beloved sweet-heart Rūpiṇī, with whom he amused himself in his pleasant palace, like a Dvikundaka God." But, in fact, this chapter of the Uttarādhyayana has nothing to do with Lord Mahāvīra and it relates no phase of his life. The chapter is named as "Samuddapāliyam," and in it has been depicted the birth, early life, renunciation and the attainment of salvation by Samudrapāla, the son of Pālita, the merchant of Campā and a Śrāvaka of Mahāvīra. The two stanzas quoted by the learned writer describe the education, marriage, etc. of Samudrapāla and not of Lord Mahāvīra. Moreover it is a well-known fact that the name of Lord Mahāvīra's wife was Yaśodā and not Rūpiṇī, as mentioned in that article (see Ācārāṅga, S. B. E., vol. XXII,, Bk. II, lec. 15. 15, p. 193 ; Kalpa Sūtra, p. 256).

Again in the introductory paragraph the writer states that art is the subject-matter, primarily, of Śilpaśāstras and then adds that the traditional list of sixty-four arts is referred to in three other classes of our literature of which the Jaina group is represented by the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. But we cannot agree with him in this respect. In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra we get mere mention of the number of arts (and this can also be found in other Jaina Sūtras) but the description of these 72 arts is nowhere given in this Sūtra. The learned writer has also noted this and in spite of this he wants to make it (the Uttarādhyayana) represent the Jaina group. In the Kalpa Sūtra, ("Life of Ṛṣabha"), Arhat Ṛṣabha is related to have taught, "during his reign, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important and the knowledge of the omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts and the three occupations of men" (Jacobi, Kalpa-Sūtra, S. B. E., vol. XXII, p. 282). Here, also, in the original text, we neither get the full list of the 72 arts of men nor that of sixty-four accomplishments of women. But the commentators have given the list in full. One thing worth noting here is that the 72 arts were prescribed for men

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and sixty-four for women. Again in the Samavāyāṅga, the fourth Aṅga Sūtra of the Jainas, we have the full list of the 72 arts in the text (Samavāyāṅga by Āgomadaya Samiti, p. 82) and we wish to refer this to the writer for further information.

From a perusal of the article it appears that Dr. Acharya considered the Kalās only from the point of view of beauty and culture of beauty. In fact, from the meaning he wants to make out of the stanzas of the Uttarādhyayana which he has wrongly connected with Lord Mahāvīra, it is clear that he makes the 72 *arts* as compatible with youth and youthful mind and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life. With all due deference to the learned writer, we are constrained to say that the stanzas do not mean anything of the sort. The attainment or knowledge of the 72 arts was no doubt made in the prime of life by Samudrapāla, but that had nothing to do with his marriage or his beauty or his amusing himself like a Dvikundaka God. These were subsequent to his learning the 72 arts that are described in detail in the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra as mentioned above. The 67 arts are enumerated by the learned writer and collected from the Kāmasūtra do not all tally with the 72 arts mentioned in the Samavāyāṅga or in the annotation of the Kalpasūtra. It is apparent that at different times different authors gave a different list of these 72 arts. But the Samavāyāṅga being the older work and having greater authority, the 72 arts mentioned there should be carefully considered for finding out whether they fit in with the ideas of Dr. Acharya about youth and beauty being the *sine qua non* of the knowledge of the 72 arts. In the Samavāyāṅga not only the finer arts are mentioned but the art of preparing the battle-field and of fixing the position of the enemies, the art of warfare, etc. are also mentioned. Every well-to-do man and every son of a king or general or minister was required to learn these. Dr. Acharya has also taken the liberty of questioning the appropriateness of the word *Niyikoviya*, and the rendering thereof by Dr. Jacobi. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛt word is नीतिकोविद and the true meaning would be one versed in *worldly laws*. *Niti* as in धर्मनीति, राजनीति, समाजनीति means the rules or laws, and one well-versed in the worldly laws may be called नीतिकोविद. We fail to understand how the writer could suggest that the word is not appropriate. On the other hand, it is apparent from the context that the word *Niyikoviya* is the most appropriate word there, considering the sense in which it is used.

PURAN CHAND SAMSOOKHA

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Mr. Kavi's Edition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra

I do not know if it is permissible to allow criticism of a criticism in a journal, but since Mr. Kavi's animadversions on my review of his edition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra in the I.H.Q., vol. iii, 1927, pp. 859f. have appeared in it in the form of an article, I presume that the learned editor will also permit me to say something on it. I am glad that it has given Mr. Kavi an opportunity of expressing his views, but any one who reads through his article can see that it hardly adds any information *as an article* (with the exception of what he says about his manuscripts), and constitutes (apart from irrelevant and personal matters) a somewhat excited reply on points on which there is likely to be extreme divergence of opinion.

I do not feel myself called upon to make a rejoinder, for I am not convinced that Mr. Kavi has been able to make an effective reply to the main issues raised by me. A controversy of this nature is bound to be interminable, and never wholly pleasant or profitable in the interest of scholarship. But there are one or two points on which I would like to remove apparent misapprehension or misunderstanding. The animus which underlies Mr. Kavi's so-called reply is regrettable, but more regrettable is the fact that he seems to have entirely misunderstood my attitude as a reviewer. I am sincerely sorry if my review has wounded his feelings, and I would like to assure him that it was never my intention to be merely fault-finding. If my review has been somewhat severe and plain-spoken, it was the result of my anxiety to see such an important text properly edited and my great disappointment to find it otherwise. I have never minimised the enormous difficulties of the task, and have given Mr. Kavi the credit of his boldness ; but I have only wished that with the great mass of material which Mr. Kavi claims to have collected, something more scholarly and critical should have been produced. It is possible that I have in places misunderstood him, or have myself made mistakes, and it is conceded that Mr. Kavi has a right to differ from me on many points ; but I would rather leave the allegations and rebuttal as matters of controversy, upon which every one will give judgment according to his personal predilection on the materials that are already before him. But I must say that even after reading Mr. Kavi's somewhat rambling reply carefully, I have, on the whole, found nothing in it as yet to change my views.

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Mr. Kavi himself lays down his own views about what he calls an ideal edition of a text thus : "An ideal edition requires that complete photographs of the originals with their transliteration (?) should supplement an edition which must be in a consolidated form as some of the best Western publications are. The variants given should be so arranged and so full that every one of the original manuscripts can be reconstructed without difficulty. Introduction, notes, indexes, and parallel passages are the greatest desiderata." Judged by this test, and in the light of what I have said in my review and Mr. Kavi in his reply, or even apart from them, I would like to ask the competent reader of his edition to judge how far Mr. Kavi's work makes any approach to the requirements so wisely laid down by himself. No doubt, Mr. Kavi makes excuses which are admissible, but surely one would expect from a scholar like Mr. Kavi a better executed and more scholarly work with the enormous mass of material at his disposal.

It was as undesirable as irrelevant to quote in this connexion from my editions of different works to prove that I have also made mistakes. I can never say that I have not made mistakes as much as others have done, although I am not prepared to admit that the instances cited by Mr. Kavi are all mistakes. In Mr. Kavi's case I have already admitted in my review (p. 868) that such mistakes are inevitable in a difficult text like the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and one need not be unnecessarily fault-finding. This point is not very material and really obscures the issue. Proneness to mistakes is human, but it certainly does not exonerate an editor from conforming to certain standards and methods of critical scholarship which are obligatory on all.

In regard to Mr. Kavi's references (which form the bulk of his article) to my edition of a small part of Abhinava's commentary published in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume and prepared as early as 1921 from very imperfect materials, I cannot say that Mr. Kavi has been fair to me. I have made admissions there, as well as in my review under discussion, about the very defective and unsatisfactory nature of my tentative text. The text was prepared from only one manuscript which was not only hopelessly incorrect and corrupt in many places, but which was itself a badly executed copy. Perhaps I was not wise to put forward even a tentative text on such insufficient material ; but I made this clear when I wrote as a preface to that text : "The text, offered here, being based on such imperfect material, is indeed defective and unsatisfactory ; but we have ventur-

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ed to publish it in this tentative form not only out of consideration of its importance but also with the expectation that better readings may be determined in future with the help of more correct manuscripts." The value of this *editio princeps* may well be doubted, but surely Mr. Kavi on his own showing possesses ampler materials, greater experience and better opportunities. The same remarks apply more or less to my *editio princeps* of the *Vakroktijīvita* and *Locana IV*, to which also references are made in an unjustifiable digression. I can assure Mr. Kavi that no deliberate unauthorised corrections have been made in the text, as he alleges, but that the readings in my printed text are (except for inadvertence) such as they are to be found in the unique transcript on which it is based and which was supplied to me in 1920 by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library to which Mr. Kavi himself belonged at the time.[1] If there are, as Mr. Kavi supposes, any mistakes or differences of reading in the copy, the fault was not mine. Mr. Kavi seems to have access to a Palm-leaf Manuscript of the text in Malayalam character (the Madras Library manuscript, which I have seen, is only a recent Devanāgarī copy) from which he cites readings; but it is strange that I was never made acquainted with this fact (the Palm-leaf Ms. would have helped me greatly in fixing a more correct text) in the course of my correspondence on this subject with Mr. Kavi himself since 1923.

It is somewhat unfair to quote *disjecta membra* from my extensive review and criticise them by themselves. I do not feel it necessary for me, as I have said, to enter into an unprofitable controversy over them at length, for the competent reader has enough material before him to judge for himself. With regard to questions about recensions and other matters arising out of Mr. Kavi's preface, I must say that Mr. Kavi in his "reply" has furnished no new information to solve the doubts and difficulties referred to by me. Perhaps he will do it later on in his promised larger introduction. I would not have discussed the questions at all, had not his preliminary Preface provoked them. Mr. Kavi forgets that I wrote in my review: "The questions raised

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1 Mr. Kavi refers to the first edition of this work published by me in 1922 from the Madras transcript; he seems to be unware of the fact that this edition was subsequently revised and enlarged with the help of another manuscript from Jesalmere and published in 1928.

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in the preface require some detailed consideration. It would be perhaps fair to suspend our judgment on this very meagre and unsatisfying preface, for the editor has promised a more extensive introduction at the end of the work. But one feels that this preliminary preface raises some important questions relating to textual matters, which challenge criticism and which should therefore have been dealt with more fully and critically." Unfortunately no fresh light has been thrown on these questions in Mr. Kavi's "reply," nor has it entirely disarmed criticism. One must still wait for the completion of the edition and for the extensive introduction he promises. He has now given us some information regarding his sources of Bharata's text (though not of the Mss. utilised for Abhinava's text), but fuller details are necessary to satisfy a critical scholar. I would therefore reserve all discussion on these questions till the appearance of his fuller introduction and more detailed *apparatus criticus*.

Mr. Kavi's excuse regarding his unacknowledged alterations and emendations from Hemacandra is hardly convincing. It is not merely a case of completion of incomplete verses, but of unauthorised incorporation into Abhinava's text of words and passages from other sources, as revealed by a comparison of Mr. Kavi's text with those of two other independently published manuscripts (see pp. 865-66 of my review). I was indeed prepared for the defence, which Mr. Kavi now makes, that some of Mr. Kavi's manuscripts do actually read as Hemacandra does, as well as for the allegation that these cases constitute unmarked omissions both in the Madras Library copy used by Dr. S. C. Mukerjee and Dr. Jha's copy supplied to me. In my review therefore I wrote : "Mr. Kavi may reply that some of his Mss. do read as Hemacandra does ; in that case he ought to have noted the alteranative readings or given us an indication of the fact. Even if it is conceded that Hemacandra's paraphrase or alteration gives us better readings of the passages in question, there is still the duty of the editor to establish the text of his author as best as he can, and whenever an alteration or emendation is made from other sources that fact should be clearly indicated along with the original readings of the author as found in the Mss." I have no doubt that some of these alterations are made with the best of intentions ; but as they are not clearly indicated, they raise an undesirable suspicion as to the unreliability of the entire text.*

S. K. De

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

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Concerning Bhagavadgītā III, 15

Regarding again my paper "The Sacrificial Wheel taught in the Bhāgavadgītā" (I.H.Q., vol. V, pp. 173 ff.),[1] I find that it wants a supplement on the view, mentioned but not discussed by me, that the word *brahma* in Bh. G. III, 15, may mean *prakṛti* in the sense of the *mahad brahma* of Bh. G. XIV, 3 : *mama yonir mahad brahma.*

The neuter word *brahman* appears in the Bh. G. in two different meanings. There it generally means the *paramātman*, but a few times (XIV, 3, 4, and perhaps, V, 10) the *avyakta* or *mūla-prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhya, not, however, as an independent entity but as the material side ("body" or "consort" of later times) of the Lord. This *prakṛti* (sometimes called *māyā*, see esp. VII, 14), which is co-existing with the Lord as his instrument and material for creating the world (IX, 8 : *prakṛtiṃ svām avaṣṭabhya* ; cf. IV, 6, etc.) can not for this very reason be created. The *vyaktayaḥ* are said to emerge from and resolve into the *avyakta* (VIII, 18), but the *avyakta* itself is *akṣara, acala, dhruva* (XII, 1, 3). Its being referred to in our śloka (III, 15) is therefore (in spite of V, 10) excluded by the word *samudbhavam.* It is excluded, or at least improbable, also for the following reason : There can be no doubt (cf. esp. XI, 37 : ... *garīyase brahmaṇe ... tvam akṣaram ...*) that the *akṣara* of our śloka is none but the Lord himself. Now, *sarvagataṃ brahma* of the second half of the śloka must refer either to *brahma* or to *akṣara* of the preceding half. In the former case, if *brahma* meant *prakṛti*, there would be no reason left for mentioning *akṣara* at all, while in the latter the word *sarvagataṃ* could not have been used for contrasting *akṣara* with *brahma=prakṛti* which is also *sarvagata* (XII, 3). The only contrast imaginable here is the one with the personal god Brahmā. Did, then, the original Gītā read *samudbhavaḥ* ? Perhaps so ; but the conjecture seems unnecessary. For, the neuter can be account-

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1 In which the following corrections should be made : P. 176, l. 10 : for *brahmākṣra* read *brahmākṣara* ; p. 179, l. 20 : for *of* read *or* ; p. 180, l. 6 (from bottom) : for *will* read *he will* ; p. 180, l. 2 (from bottom) : delete *not* ; p. 181, second line should read : or (viz., in VIII, 16, 17, and XI, 15, 37) in that of the lower or masculine Brahma ; p. 181, l. 3 : delete the bracketed passsage ; p. 181, l. 16 : insert *the* before *yajñacakra* ; p. 181, signature : for J read F.

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ed for by an association, in the author's mind, of the god Brahmā with the *śabdabrahma* of Bh. G. VI, 44 on which I have already expressed my opinion (p. 180). I may still recall the fact (see Monier-Williams' Dict., s. v. *brahman*) that the neuter word *brahma* means also the Brāhmaṇical caste of which god Brahmā is the highest representative, and sometimes even an individual Brahmin.

F. OTTO SCHRADER

Commentary on Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa is not a Myth but a Reality

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June 1929 (vol. V, no. 2, p. 347), Mr. K. S. Ramasvamy Śāstrin writes a note on the non-existence of a manuscript-commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya under the heading "*A Mythical Commentary on Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa*" in which he states that he was engaged in editing for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series the above work and in that connection had to consult Mr. S. K. De's work on *Sanskrit Poetics* where he learnt that a manuscript-commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* was available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Learning this he examined the manuscript and discovered that the alleged commentary was not a commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya which deals with dramaturgy, but with a work of the same name on Grammar. Therefore, he infers that Mr. De made a mistake in alluding to the work in question as a treatise on Dramaturgy.

It should not, however, be thought that there is no commentary extant. Ten years ago the late Dr. Ganapati Śāstrin secured a manuscript of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* the merits of which I came to learn when I heard some extracts from the work read to me. In 1924, I was fortunate to obtain another manuscript of the above work and a commentary on the same in Central Travancore. The commentary struck me as an exceptional work which could bear comparison with the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of King Bhoja. Some friends of mine have transcribed passages from these manuscripts.

In 1927, I learnt that the Baroda Oriental Research Institute was preparing an edition of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* for their series and that

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by that time nearly 200 pages of the text had been printed. Learning this, I informed Mr. B. Bhattacharya of the Institute that I had a copy of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* which I was willing to lend them. In my letters, I think, I must have mentioned the existence of the manuscript-commentary also.

As I think that the manuscript-commentary is a fine work, I append hereto a few extracts which will give some indication of its nature and merits. I understand that Mr. M. Ramkrishna Kavi of Madras has undertaken the work of publication of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* with the commentary.

EXTRACTS

भावप्रकाशव्याख्या

१ अथ तत्रभवान् शारदातनयो नाम विद्वान् शारदादेवीप्रसादात् कृतसकलशास्त्रपरिश्रमः स्वपरिशीलितसर्वशास्त्रप्रौढिं लोकस्य दिदर्शयिषुः, काव्यमीमांसां सङ्गीतमीमांसां च काव्यप्रकाशे शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे च निखिलशास्त्रविषयं विधाय रसान् भावांश्च मीमांसयितुं भावप्रकाशिकाख्यं नाट्यप्रकरणं चिकीर्षुः, चिकीर्षितस्य प्रकरणस्य निरन्तरायपरिपूर्तये प्रचयगमनाय च शिष्टाचारपरम्पराप्राप्तं मङ्गलमाचरन् सर्वमङ्गलानन्दनिधानं गजाननं नाट्यगतपदार्थरूपैरेव विशेषणैरभिष्टौति—प्रश्रीतन्मदमन्थरेत्यादि। ननु चिकीर्षितस्य प्रकरणस्य नाट्यं कविषयत्वान्मङ्गलाशंसनस्यौकेऽपि नाट्यप्रस्तावनैव कर्तुमुचिता, न नृत्तगीतवाद्यानामिति चेत्—सत्यम्; वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकस्य नाट्यस्य पदार्थीभूतावान्तरवाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकेन नृत्तेन विना निष्पत्तेरभावात् नाट्यं प्रति तस्योपयोगः, अभिनीयमानवाक्यार्थादेर्वाचकत्वेन गीतानामुपयोगः, नृत्तगीतगतकालपरिच्छेदकत्वेन वाद्यानामिति तूर्यत्रया अपि नाट्योपयोगित्वात् तत्प्रस्तावनाचोचितैव।

प्रश्रीतत् प्रकर्षेण स्यन्दमानः यो मदस्तेन मन्थरो मन्द्रो धनरिकाझङ्कारः स एव गीतं यस्मिन् कर्मणीति क्रियाविशेषणम्। मुहुर्हेलया यद् ह्रेंहितं गजगर्जितमित्यभिधानम्, तदेव वादनं वाद्यं तेन व्यतिकरः सम्बन्धो यस्मिन् कर्मणीति च, नृत्यन्नित्यनेन पदार्थाभिनयात्मकं नृत्तमेवोच्यते, न गात्रविक्षेपमात्रमभिनयशून्यं ताललयैकाश्रयं शुष्कनृत्यमिति सूचयति—भावोद्भासप्रक्रियमिति। भावा विभावादयो वाक्यार्थस्य स्थायिनः पदार्थाः, तदनुगुणमुद्भासन्यः प्रकृष्टाः क्रियाः अङ्गोपाङ्गप्रत्यङ्गव्यापारा यस्मिन्निति क्रियाविशेषणम्। एवं नृत्यन् करिमुखो नः सुखायास्तु, गात्रविक्षेपरूपत्वेन क्लेशरूपं नृत्यं विदधानः कथं वः सुखाय स्यादित्याशंक्य अस्य नृत्तस्य नाट्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तत्साधननृत्तकर्तुः सुखदायित्वमुचितमेवेत्याह—पप्पोपहारैश्चिरादानन्दीति। अनन्दीत्यनेन को रसोऽभिनेयत्वेन सूचित इत्याकाङ्क्षायां गणेशस्य हास्याधिदैवत्वात् स एवाभिनेय इति दर्शयितुं तद्विभावादीन् सूचयति—पप्पोपहारैरिति। पप्पोपहाराः खण्डलड्डुकादीनि भक्ष्यद्रव्याणि तैरानन्दीति। इत्थं प्रतीतं नटस्य रसनिष्ठत्वं उपमानप्रदर्शनमुखेन निवारयति—नटभावितैरित्यादि। नटोऽपि रसानुभवदशायां सामाजिक एवेत्यर्थः।

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२ अथ विदितमङ्गलाचारः प्रबन्धकर्ता स्वदेशं स्वाभिजात्यं स्वोत्पत्तिपरिग्रहं स्वविद्यापारम्पर्यं स्वनिद्यावाप्तिनिदानं शास्त्रकर्तृपारम्पर्यं च वर्णयन् साधिकारिप्रयोजनसम्बन्धेयं प्रतिजानीते—आर्यावर्तान्वय इत्यारभ्य भावप्रकाशनं नाम ग्रन्थं करोमीत्यन्तेन।

* * * *

३ परगतसुखदुःखाद्यनुभवेन चित्तस्य तदनुकूलतः परगतसुखदुःखानुकूल्येन तद्भावभावनं रामाद्यनुकार्यत्वापादनं येन भवेत्तत्सत्त्वम्। तेन निर्वृत्ता भावाः सात्विका इत्यर्थः। ननु सत्त्वान्निर्वृत्तानां भावानां मनआरभ्यानुभावत्वमुक्तम्। अत एते हि स्तम्भादयः सत्वजत्वादनुभावेष्वेवान्तर्भवन्तु, किं पृथगुपादानेन इत्यत आह—

अनुभावत्वसामान्ये सत्यप्यन्ये पृथक्कृता।
लक्ष्यन्ते सत्वजत्वाद्धि तेऽपि स्तम्भादयो मताः॥

* * * *

४ अयमत्राभिसन्धिः—सञ्चारिणो द्विधा स्वतन्त्राः परतन्त्राश्च, तत्र ये रसान्तरपोषकास्ते परतन्त्राः अनेकविधाः स्वतन्त्राः। तत्र परतन्त्रनिर्वेदो यथा—कुर्युः शास्त्रकथाममी इत्यादि। अत्र निर्वेदस्य क्रोधाङ्गत्वम्। निर्वेदस्य स्वतन्त्रत्वं यथा प्राप्ताः श्रियः सकलेत्यादि। अत्र निर्वेदस्यान्याङ्गत्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वम्। नन्वत्र निर्वेदस्य शान्तरसस्थायित्वं कैश्चिदुक्तम्, महाकविप्रयोगेषु तथा दर्शनात्। यथा च भर्तृहरेः—न ध्यातं पदमित्यादि। (अत्र) शान्तरसस्थायित्वात् कथमनन्याङ्गत्वं निर्वेदस्येति चेत्—उच्यते—सन्ति खलु ग्रामे सीनासम्भावनां (?) स्थायित्वं नाम संस्कारपाटवेन पुनः पुनर्नवीभावः। तेन निर्वेदवासनावासितभावकचेतसि नैष्कर्म्यनाभिमतेषु विभावादिषु तासामङ्गीभूतफलस्य निर्वेदस्योत्पत्तिरेव न सङ्कुच्यते, किम्पुनः स्थायित्वम्? किञ्च असति निर्वेदे स्थायिनि शान्तरूपो भावकानां [खोद.....येत्] चिरगतकदलीफलास्वादलम्पटानां राजशुकानां विवेकसहोदरो भवेत्। अतः स्थायित्वमेव तस्य नास्ति, कुतः शान्तरसं प्रति स्थायित्वमिति विशेषः। न ध्यातं पदमित्यत्र तु न शान्तरसस्थायित्वं निर्वेदस्य, किन्तु ग्रन्थारम्भदानवीरभक्तिरसान् प्रति व्यभिचारित्वमेवेत्यलम्।

* * * *

५ उद्दिष्टान् भावगतान् भावादीन् रसोपादानत्वपर्यन्तान् निरूप्य तद्दर्शनादीन्यवशिष्टान् भावगतभावान् पुरस्ताद्वक्ष्यामीति प्रथमाधिकारं परिसमापयति—

तदर्शनानि तद्दृष्टिर्द्विधर्माः पृथग्विधाः।
परस्परस्य सामर्थ्यं साहचर्यात् क्वचित् क्वचित्॥
रसोदयानुकूल्येन तत्र तत्रैव वक्ष्यति।
तद्दर्शनादयो भावा रसोदयसमये वक्ष्यन्त इत्यर्थः। इति भावनिर्णयाख्यः प्रथमोऽधिकारः।

* * * *

All these extracts are taken from the first chapter. Nothing is known about the author of the commentary. He has given illustrations from various works, and mentions many authors and works.

V. VENKATARAM SHARMA

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Discovery of a Bone-Relic at an Ancient Centre of Mahāyāna

It has been recently announced by Mr. H. Hargreaves, offg. Director General of Archæology, that a bone-relic of Buddha has been discovered at Nagarjunikuṇḍa, where excavations are now being carried on under the direction of Mr. A. H. Longhurst. The site is close to the famous Amarāvatī stūpa and is situated on the right bank of the Kṛiṣṇā in the Palnad Taluk, District Guntur. In the course of excavations on the northern side of the stūpa, Mr. Longhurst discovered a small round box of three quarters of an inch in diameter, containing a fragment of a bone of the size of a pea together with some gold-flowers. This box was within a silver casket shaped like a miniature stūpa 2½ inches high. In it were originally pearls and garnets.

Since 1926, the excavations carried on at this site have been yielding many important finds including a few Brāhmī inscriptions of the 3rd century A.C. The importance of the discovery of the bone-relic lies in the fact that it goes to confirm the message of the inscription recording the gift of a pillar by the sister of Mahārāja Mādhavi-putra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta to the Caitya, enshrining a *dhātu* of Sammāsambuddha.[1] The fact that this Caitya enshrined a relic of Buddha is also mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[2]

The excavations at Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighbourhood bear ample testimony to the existence of an important Buddhist establishment in this locality. One of the inscriptions of the 3rd century A.C. found recently records that this sacred place was visited by pilgrims from distant places such as Gandhāra, Cīna, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Tambapaṇṇidvīpa, and that for the convenience of the pilgrims, some devotees dug well and constructed a number of caityas and vihāras.[3] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also says that there was a mountain called Śrīparvata, near Dhānyakaṭaka, suitable for Buddhistic practices.[4] Hence, no doubt is left as to the great antiquity and importance of this place as a centre of Buddhism.

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1 *Annual Report of the S. I. Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97; 1926, pp. 70, 92-3; 1927, p. 42.

2 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, (Triv. Sans. Series)., p. 88: "Śrīdhānyakaṭake caitye jinadhātudhare."

3 *Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1927, pp. 43, 71.

4 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 88.

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The inscriptions have further come to our aid by indicating the Buddhist sects connected with this centre. Many years ago, Burgess, on the authority of Hiuen Tsang and the inscription No. 12,[1] referring to the Caityakas, whose branches were the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas, concluded that it was a centre of the two Śaila schools—the offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Hiuen Tsang informs us that in the country of Te-na-ka-che-ka (= Dhanakechaka or Dhanakaṭaka), there was a monastery called Pūrvaśaila (Fu-po-shih-lo) on a hill to the east of the capital and another monastery called Aparaśaila (A-fa-lo-shih-lo) on a hill to the west.[2] He also tells us that of the many Buddhist monasteries, only twenty were inhabited by monks and they belonged to the Mahāsaṅghika school.[3] Among the recent finds in the neighbourhood of the place, two inscriptions refer to Puvaseliya (Pūrvaśaila) and Avaras (Aparaśaila).[4] The Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā calls them "Andhakas" i.e. the sects of the Andhra country. These various evidences clearly show that the Buddhist establishments at Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighbourhood belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots. The Mahāsaṅghikas, on account of docetising Buddha and setting up Buddhahood as the goal of a Buddhist, lowering thereby the status of the Arhat, are regarded as the forerunners of Mahāyāna. It is therefore quite natural that the Mahāyānic principles, at least the Buddhological speculations, found favour with the monks residing at Dhanakaṭaka. From the archæological reports also we notice that there is in fact a locality called Nāgārjunikuṇḍa, where the bone-relic has been discovered. The association of this place with Nāgārjuna, the great savant of Mahāyāna and the founder of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy, and the information furnished by Tāranātha[5] that Nāgārjuna resided for some time at Śrīparvata (Śrīśailam) suggest that the establishment became later on a centre of Mahāyāna. Hiuen Tsang also refers to a resident of this establish-

1 Burgess, *Amaravati and Jaggayapeta-stūpas*, p. 102.

2 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 214.

3 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 217: Julien read in the 'B' text *ta-sheng* = Mahāyāna, but the other texts have *ta-chung* = Mahāsaṅgha. Watters prefers the latter view.

4 *Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97; 1926, pp. 70, 92-3 1927, p. 42.

5 *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 73, 81.

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ment named P'o-p'i-fei-ka (=Bhāvaviveka) as a great scholar ("Śāstra-master") and as "externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb, internally propagating the learning of Nāgārjuna,"[1] and as the author of the *Prajñā-Pradīpaśāstra*, a treatise dealing with "transcendental wisdom." Wassiljew informs us on the basis of the Tibetan work *Siddhānta* that the schools of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas had a *Prajñāpāramitā* in the Prākṛt dialect.[2] In view of the tenets attributed to the Śaila schools by the *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's treatise it is difficult to accept the *Siddhānta* tradition that the Śaila schools possessed a Prajñāpāramitā text, for the chief and only aim of a *Prajñā-pāramitā* text is to establish *Śūnyatā* and *Advayam Advaidhīkāram* as the final Truth. So if we have to believe the information of the *Siddhānta* we must hold that the Śaila schools generally changed their tenets, and ultimately became full-fledged Mahāyānists. This was very likely the case, and we hope that fresh evidences will be forthcoming from the excavations at Nāgārjunikuṇḍa and its neighbourhood to throw light on this great problem—the origin of Mahāyāna.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

Notes on Dravidian

IV

Post-positional "Case"-Terminations in Dravidian

While the case-endings of inflexional languages like the Indo-Aryan and the Indo-European have become *set*, the terminations which express similar relationships in Dravidian are more or less *loose*. It has been postulated by Bopp and re-affirmed by other philologers (though also contested by many) that the case-affixes of Indo-Germanic go back originally to pronominal demonstratives which, in their turn, were originally "local" demonstrative particles.[3] Farrar says that "the

1 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 214.

2 Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*.

3 Says Hermann Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1920): "*Auf diesem Gebiete ist alles zu wenig sicher, als dass es für die Erkenntnis der allgemeinen Entwicklungsbedingungen verwertet werden konnte.*" Nevertheless, the theory of the demonstratives has not been totally rejected. *A priori* reasoning cannot be conclusive; but considering the effective uses to which demonstrative particles,—

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case-endings in Indo-Germanic, like the pronouns from which they spring, originally represented only conceptions of space (nearness, distance, presence, absence), but they were afterwards extended to express relations of time, cause, etc. There are three pronominal elements p, q and t or pa, qa, ta which mean primarily *here*, *near* and *there*. The first pa or (ma) occurs in the first personal pronoun; the second qa signifies proximity and occurs in the nominative and dative cases. The third ta denotes distance and is found in the genitive and accusative cases." Though these views do not command any general acceptance, there is no denying the fact that the conception of *place* is a very primitive one, and roots denoting place are some of the most ancient in all languages. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the view that "local" demonstrative particles may have embodied in themselves various significations which gradually made themselves active in creating particular categories along with the development of thought and feeling. Whatever the value of the deictic theory in regard to IGC may be, in Dravidian the activity of "local" demonstratives is conspicuous in some instances of flexional terminations, in the development of the prominent tense-forms, the past and the present, and in the derivation of nouns and adjectives. A demonstrative particle that has in Dravidian played a prominent part in the creation of case-relationships is a ; the other demonstrative particle i appearing in some dialects is probably a derivative from a itself. Another affix in Dravidian is -d, from the neuter demonstrative.

The German philologer Wundt divided case-terminations into two categories, the *inner* and the *outer*, the former being constituted of the accusative, the genitive and the dative and the latter consisting of the other cases, the locative, the instrumental and the ablative. The purpose with which this classification was made was to show

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presumably some of the first intelligent articulate sounds used by man, —could be put, we shall not be unjustified in postulating on the basis of our present knowledge of linguistic growth that demonstrative particles have contributed in some degree at least to the formation of case-endings. The array of objections raised by scholars beginning from Sayce has not yet demolished the "deictic" theory, based largely though the latter is on *a priori* considerations.

Cf. in this connection, the large and varied use of the demonstratives in Semitic (vide V. Christian's article on the "Deictic Elements in Semitic")

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that in the most primitive stage of Indo-Germanic, the former set of *cases* which Wundt considers to be the earlier and to be indispensable for every language, were probably expressed without any terminations whatsoever, but that the latter, having arisen at a later stage in the development of thought, could only have been expressed with the addition of certain definite affixes. Wundt's position has been questioned by scholars like Hermann Paul, who maintain that such a classification is arbitrary in the extreme and that it is futile to speculate about the comparative priority of origin of the case-forms. Similarly, Delbruck's classification of IGC case suffixes as *grammatical* and *post-positional*, has also been attacked as untenable by scholars like Whitney. So far as Dravidian is concerned, as the difficulty of tracing the origin of most of the affixes does not exist and as we could, on close examination, observe the displacement of original affixes in the most prominent case-relationships by other affixes of presumably later origin, it is possible to distinguish roughly between "earlier" and "later" cases. But the basis on which a writer[1] in *Indian Antiquary* (May, 1910) has drawn a distinction between *primary* and *secondary* cases in Dravidian is entirely unsupportable. The arbitrary character of the distinction sought to be made by this writer

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1 The writer in the *Indian Antiquary* takes up several untenable positions. He regards the Nom., Acc., Dat. and Gen. of Dravidian as taking *inflectional suffixes*, on the supposition that the origin of these latter could not be traced. But the origin of most of these *could* be traced, as this article will show: the Acc., ending -n, -an, -in, etc. should originally have been the locative, -in or -il, the Dat. ku, gu, ki, gi etc., are derivable from kei; and the Gen. affixes either go back to the Loc. il, -in or to demonstratives. The contention that these case-suffixes are not interchangeable will not hold good, in the light of their very usage and origin. Nor can the argument that these case-suffixes are added to the crude base be valid, as illustrations from certain Dravidian dialects will show.

In Dravidian some of the post-positional terminations are closely related to one another, as we shall see below. The same termination does duty in slightly modified forms for different cases in the same dialect, while different significations are attached to the same affix in different dialects. It is interesting to observe that the post-positional terminations of all Dravidian dialects are traceable to a common stock of original particles or roots and their modifications.

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between case-suffixes and post-positions in Dravidian will be evident from the following discussion :

I. *The Demonstrative Particles*[1] : a, e are found in the accusative of Tamil-Malayāḷam, old Kannaḍa and Kūi; and in the locative of Brāhūi. The Kaikadi dialect of Tamil shows e for Acc. by the side of -an, -nna and -ni.

e, I consider, is a modification of a ; e is found in the genitive of Tuḷu plural, the dat. of Brāhūi and the genitive of Burgāndi ;

a is found also in the genitive of Tuḷu sing., Tamil, Kannaḍa (with the increment -d-), and Goṇḍi ;

i-, is the genitive affix of Telugu, Kūi, Kurukh and Malto ;

e also appears as a locative termination of certain Malayāḷam words ending in ṭ or ḍ especially place-names, e.g., Kṛṣṇappāṭṭe (at the place called Kṛṣṇapāṭ) ; and in the acc. of Mal. and Kann. ; cf. also old Tel. locative -a in forms like iṇṭa (in the house), and Gōṇḍi Loc. ē.

-d from the neuter demonstrative also plays a conspicuous part in case-relationships ; in many dialects it has today come to assume the form of an inflectional increment (see below).

II. Ke, ku, gu, ge, are dativa1 affixes found in all the Dravidian dialects. I have shown in a separate paper of mine (in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September, 1928) that this affix is traceable to the elementary Dravidian root √kei, *hand* or *to do*. It is found, without exception, in all the Dravidian dialects. In certain dialects like Kolāmi and Naiki it denotes not only the dativa1 relationship but also the accusative. The opinion that this is only a confusion between the accusative and the dative *on account*

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1 Attempts have been made to explain away many of these post-positional particles as being derived from hypothetical suffixes ; thus Tamil -ai, Mal. -e and Kann. -a (alternatively used in the older dialect) have been traced arbitrarily to an original -am, merely on the ground that this suffix exists in Tamil-Kannaḍa Acc. When we consider how very effectively particles of a demonstrative character could confer flexional relationships, such a postulate as the above which is in itself arbitrary, would stand invalidated ; equally gratuitous is the theory that seeks to trace the genitive affix e and i of Tuḷu pl., and of Kolāmi, Naiki and Burgandi to an original ina, because this latter is favoured by certain major dialects of the south.

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of Indo-Aryan influence (an opinion postulated in the Linguistic Survey, vol. IV) cannot be accepted without hesitation ; for the interchange of affixes for different cases is not uncommon in Dravidian itself. An alternation of this kind is illustrated by the Kur. Gen. affix -gahi which shows connection with Dravidian Dative ku (<kai).

III. aḍ, or oḍ and toḍ appear in the conjunctive of Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu and Tuḷu ; in the instrumental of Brāhūi and Tuḷu and in the genitive and locative of Tuḷu. aḍ, oḍ and toḍ are closely related to one another and indicate proximity or contact. The great antiquity of these roots, as attested by the existence of numerous developments in all the dialects, is beyond question.

IV. -il and its variant -in (cf. for the interchange of l and n, kēlu, kēnu, etc.) appear in

(1) the locative of Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu, Koḍagu and Kurukh (-nu metathetical for -in);
(2) the genitive of Tamil and old Kannaḍa (-in, -im);
(3) inflectional increment of Kūi standing for the general oblique base in Kui, and for several forms of Gōṇḍi.
(4) the accusative of Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu and Kurukh.

The accusative-forming -an, -nu, -n are all variants of an original in or il. That an original locative could be employed to bring out the accusative meaning is clear from the fact that the idea of action on an object (expressed by the accusative) involves the idea of location of the action. Compare in this connection, the accusative of space, distance and time, traces of which are found in Greek and Sanskrit. Mons. Breal states definitely that this use of the accusative should have preceded the ordinary grammatical accusative (*vide Essai sur la Semantique*, p. 229 et seq.).

V. Irndu (beginning from) is the ablative termination for Tamil, In view of the fact that the ablative case should have been a

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1 Is it correct to maintain, as Prof. Vinson does, that toḍ represents the original form and oḍ a secondary form which has lost initial t—, as in some Tamil words tuvarpu, uvarpu (brackishness) etc.? I think it is not; toḍ and oḍ are independent roots of equal antiquity, in view of (1) the large number of derivatives formed from both and (2) the frequency of admittedly original forms like aḍ, eḍ etc. where the play of dem. particles evidences itself semantically.

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comparatively late form, it is possible that an original form corresponding to modern Tamil ir*n*dū has given rise to—*nn*u of Mal., edd of Toḍa -du of Tuḷu, Telugu uṇḍi, Kannaḍa i*n*du and Kurukh i*n*ta. It has been postulated that Kannaḍa i*n*du and Kurukh i*n*ta are from in + adu, but this explanation will hardly be satisfactory to bring out the instrumental and ablatival idea ; the idea of *motion from or separation from* is more easily derivable from irndu than from in + adu.

VI. Other forms used are :

(*a*) uḍeiya for Tamil genitive which appears as *ḍ*e or ṭe or ḍe in Malayāḷam and as re (<*ḍ*re<*ḍ*e<de <(u)ḍeiya) in Koḍagu. The root of course is oḍ.

(*b*) yokka in Telugu genitive forms. The root is o (one). Okka is formed with the formative ka. Compare Tamil-Malayāḷam okkuga (to be united) and Mal. okke (all).

(*c*) āl for Gōṇḍi, Tamil and Malayāḷam instrumental. The origin of this affix has not been satisfactorily explained. Āl expresses a conditional meaning in phrases like avan va*n*dāl (if he comes) a variant of which is avan va*n*dēl (when he came). Does not the close connection between the two suggest that al may have arisen from al (place) with which is connected el (place, time)? The vocalic lengthening may have been a later development, as in the Pl. ending ār. Kāl is a locative affix in old Tamil and kal (with short vowel) appears in Mal. Loc. as in puḻakkyal (at or by the river) etc. This kal in Mal. appears only after nouns with final front vowels. Tamil kāl and Mal. kal are certainly related. If kāl is the original, it might be traced to Tamil kāl (place). It is difficult to suggest a conclusive explanation for this post-position. I am not, however, inclined to favour the view that the instrumental āl can be derived from kāl.

(*d*) Modern Telugu cēta for expressing the Instr. relationship is the old Loc. form of *cey* (to do). Tamil, Gōṇḍu etc. (for Instr.) are also recent forms.

The Various Cases

The Nominative

The crude base is employed in all the dialects except in the neuter nouns of the South. In Tamil, the nominative singular and all the plural

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forms of many neuter nouns show the affix -am. In Kannaḍa, -im appears in the nominative and accusative singular but not in the plural, while traces of this -am of neuter nouns appear in Telugu words like mrānu (tree) and kolanu (tank). Whence is this -im? Caldwell suggests that it may be an ancient demonstrative corresponding to the interrogative ēmi (what) on the analogy of edu and adu; but ēmi is probably from evi (e+v (hiatus-filler)+i). None of the dialects other than Kannaḍa and Tamil show this suffix prominently; it is absent in the central Dravidian dialects. Even in Kannaḍa it appears in the nominative and accusative singular only. Taking all these facts together, it would not be incorrect to presume that -am was a borrowing from the Sanskrit ending of neuter nouns. Dravidian already had an indigenous post-positional affix -in, which had become so generalised in some dialects as to become an inflectional increment. The existence of this -in and, further, of an emphatic particle -m in Dravidian, might have, by a process of association, made the borrowing of -am easy, especially as we see that in old Kannaḍa the affix -in has an alternative form -im in the ablative and instrumental cases. That this neuter ending -aṃ may have been a late formation is illustrated also by the fact that many Tamil nouns with final -aṃ have alternative forms without -am. e.g., inbu (love), inbam; kaḍal (sea), Kaḍalam etc.

In certain dialects like Kurukh, Kui and Telugu the gender ending is added to the base: in Kurukh, for instance, -os appears in the masculine gender in words like Kukk-os (boy), and this ending is retained for all cases.

In Kui, certain forms which are really appellative and participial nouns add the gender suffix, as in kog-añju (boy) dit-añju (the man that fell down), kog-ari or kog-ali (girl or thing.) This is comparable to similar forms of the southern dialects; these forms with the gender suffixes have become "fixed" in currency as ordinary nouns.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that with the exception probably of Kurukh (which seems to have a more acute sense of gender-distinction—cf. the Kurukh verb) the Dravidian dialects did not uniformly associate gender-distinctions in case-relationships, except in appellative or participial noun-formations.

The concept of the nominative in Dravidian is evidently that of the noun-idea divested of all external relationships, while that of the Indo-Germanic which has a particular suffix of its own is a

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comparatively late form wherein "is strikingly exhibited the tendency of the earliest Indo-European language to make every vocable a true form, to give every theme in every relation, a sign of its mode of application, a formative element." This idea denoting a state of high subjectivity, should apparently have been a super-imposition upon the primitive conception which is retained in Dravidian.

The oblique Cases

At a very primitive stage in the development of language, case relationships probably were expressed, not by the use of distinctive affixes but by the mere juxtaposition of words from whose contextual significance the relationships would have been inferred.[1] This stage is indicated in Dravidian in certain dialects. The accusative, for instance, of certain neuter nouns of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu, is represented by the crude base merely; the same is true of the genitive in some cases in these dialects and in Kūi. Similarly, the Nom. stands for the Gen. and the Loc. in Toḍa.

But with the development of thought, this method of representing case-relationships would have been felt to be insufficient; and, gradually, expressive particles were employed for the purpose. At the commencement, a few of these particles were generalised and employed to serve the purpose of obviating ambiguity in all those cases where the particular particles could fit in semantically. The ending -in which appears in Dravidian dialects in such different cases as the genitive, the accusative and the instrumental, was one such particle derived from the "local" root il (place). But at a later stage even this should have been felt to be inadequate to meet the complex relationships of highly evolved ideas, and new affixes were tacked on to the old

1 Cf. Hermann Paul's observation in connection with Wundt's division of cases into *inner* and *outer* varieties. *Richtig ist an dieser Auffassung, dass die syntaktischen Beziehungen, die in den Indo-germanischen Sprachen durch diese Kasus ausgedrückt werden, schon vorher bestanden haben, ehe besondere Zeichen dafür vorhanden wären. Aber es muss einmal eine Periode gegeben haben, in der auch für die Beziehungen, die später durch die Kasus "der äusseren Determination" ausgedrückt werden konnten, die blosse Aneinanderreihung von Wörtern, die aller Deklinationsformen entbehrten, genügen musste.* The suggestion contained here seems to receive support from Dravidian.

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ones which thereupon became completely generalised for all the cases and took on, in certain dialects, the nature of what Caldwell describes as the *inflectional increments* or *inflectional augmentations*. Such inflectional increments are found in many Dravidian dialects. :—

(*a*) Tamil: Attu (from adu, the demonstrative neuter) is used in neuter nouns in the case-endings for the singular. Originally it expressed a locative (as in nilattu, *on the ground* etc.) and, in some instances, a genitive meaning also. It may be mentioned here, in passing, that the use of 'attu' is in entire accordance with the large use made of "local" demonstratives in Dravidian for expressing case-relationships.

(*b*) Telugu: The same pronominal demonstrative that developed into 'attu' in Tamil gave rise to ṭi in Gōṇḍi and Telugu in the oblique flectional terminations of the so-called irregular nouns ending in -ḍu, -ru, -lu, -nu, and -y, -ṭ in nouns ending in ḍ is due to the assimilation by t (<atu); while in the other cases the process works out thus :—

l + t, >alveolar *t* >ṭ. The equation usually proposed that l, n, +t=cerebral ṭ i.e. *directly*, is against the usual law of Dravidian.

The Telugu augment ṭ is either a cerebralised form of t when it combines with final ḍ of roots as in peraḍu (yard), peraṭi; nāḍu (country), nāṭi etc., or from an alveolar t which results from the assimilation of dental t to an alveolar sound like l, or n occurring finally in roots, as in rōlu (pestle), rōṭi; modalu, modaṭi etc. The original nature of the increment -t, is preserved in the oblique forms of a few nouns ending in -y, e.g., nūy, nūti; ney, nēti etc., where the original dental plosive has not undergone any assimilative change.

l or n+t (dental)>*t* (alveolar). The alveolar was assimilated by Tamil as *tr* (as in an*dr*u or a*ttr*u etc.), but rejected by Telugu which substituted the cerebral -ṭ. (vide my paper on Alveolar *t* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1928).

(*c*) Kannaḍa[1]: -d used for the singular of the genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative cases of neuter nouns. Caldwell sus-

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1 Both Kannaḍa and Tamil use a rare a*r* also as an inflexional increment: (1) plural forms of the neuter pronominals *avai* (they) and words compounded with *avai* like śilavai etc. show the increment a*r* in *oblique* forms, as ava*ttr*ai, ava*ttr*ayin ava*ttr*ayāl etc.; in Mal. colloquial the form ava*tt*a is used as a neuter nominative also; (2) the sing. and pl. forms of neuter words denoting quantity in Kann. like *adu*, avu, show the increment a*r* in the instr., gen. and loc.

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pects it to be a euphonic hiatus-filler; but since it occurs in so many cases, it is presumably only from the neuter demonstrative, used as an inflexional increment. Tuḷu uses the increment -t or -d (<at) in the genitive singular only.

(*d*) Kui shows a number of such inflectional increments. Friend-Pereira gives the following:— -ni, -i, -ti, -nii, and -tii which appears to be a common factor, is probably the modified form of an old demonstrative which having been used to express case-relationships was regularly used after the use of increments came in.

ni <ini< il+i

ti < ati <atu +i

The Kui terminations are not distinctive today and are sometimes indiscriminately used for all oblique cases though the rule of Gōṇḍi, viz. ni for rationals and ti for irrationals, applies to many instances.

The fact that inflexional increments are still largely employed in this uncultivated Dravidian dialect, without any additional strengthening affixes for denoting case-relationships, clearly indicates the intermediate stage through which several other Dravidian dialects must have passed.

(*e*) Goṇḍi:— -t- used in the flexional terminations of irrational nouns is clearly from *adu* or *atu*; while -n (<in) is the increment used uniformly in the oblique bases of rational nouns.

The Accusative

(*a*) The use of the crude base points to a very early stage in the development of language.[1]

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cases, e.g. adarim, adarol etc. Neither in Tamil nor in Mal. is the use of *ar* compulsory.

Further, Kannaḍa words denoting direction show another increment an in the old dialect in oblique forms.

1 Neuter nouns of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu etc. show, especially in the colloquial, no affix at all in the acc.; compare the similar rule in some of the modern I.A. languages like Bengali, where Dravidian influence has been postulated. The crude base is also sometimes retained for the gen. in Dravidian. The retention of the crude base probably points to the most primitive stage when case-relationships were inferred from mere juxtaposition of words. The reason why the acc. and the gen. alone continue in some dialects even today, to retain the ancient usage, is to be sought in the fact that the transitivity of the

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(*b*) The use of -a (or -e), the demonstrative particle, in certain dialects (Brāhūi, Tamil, Gōṇḍi, Malayāḷam) was sufficient at an early stage to draw the attention to the object acted upon. It is probable that -a which appears in Tamil -ai (> ei>e) and in Gōṇḍi, represents the earliest stage and that the Brāhūi e is only a developed form, as in Malayāḷam. It is true that one could not be sure on this matter, as both the proximate and the remote demonstratives would equally have well brought out the accusative relationship ; but the prominence of a in the acc. and the gen. of the southern dialects is significant. It is noteworthy that the stage when the old demonstrative affix was attempted to be superseded by the new -an or -in is indicated in the Karachi dialect of Brāhūi which has an accusative affix -in, by the side of -e.

(*c*) -n, as an accusative affix, appears in many dialects. Caldwell suggests that this accusative ending is the "softened" form of -am appearing in old Kannaḍa. If there is validity in the suggestion that -am in Tamil and Kannaḍa is only a borrowing, then this explanation of Caldwell could not hold good. It may be observed in this connection that -am is never found as the neuter termination in any dialect except in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa ; so it would be far more reasonable to derive the -n of the accusative from -in, which is so common amongst Dravidian dialects and which has further become so conspicuous in Telugu, Kui and in some cases in Tamil as to have been generalised into an inflectional increment. That -in (<il, *place*) could quite effectively express the accusative relationship is also obvious ; one may compare here the use of -il was a Loc. affix in the Kaikadi dialect, and also the Loc. of Distance in IGC. The Telugu form -nu is probably only a modified form of -in ; Goṇḍi -tun=-t (inflectional increment <atu, neuter demonstrative) + un(<in). Kurukh has -an, and Kannaḍa has -an, beside -am. Kannaḍa should have possessed the -an (<in) as an indigenous affix, and -am should have cropped up purely on account of the analogical resemblance to the nominative singular ending -am (borrowed from Sanskrit).

It may be noted here that attempts have been made to derive the Tamil accusative -ai from -an (through the dropping of final n), and Malto -e from -ne. This is purely fanciful. The history of the de-

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verb in the case of the acc., and the close proximity of the noun governed and the governing genitive sufficiently obviated the necessity for affixes in these particular relationships.

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velopment of Dravidian languages in general and of Dravidian in particular, shows clearly the manifold uses to which demonstrative particles were put in the early stage. As the fact that these demonstratives were employed in some cases in Dravidian is admitted on all hands, there is no reason at all why we should reject the demonstrative origin of the accusative affix -e, -ai etc.

The Dative

The most common dative affix is the particle -ku and its variants. I have shown (in the September (1928) number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*) that this particle is ultimately traceable to the elementary Dravidian base kei which has even today both the signification of a noun and a verb.

Gōṇḍi singular alone has -in for the dative in -tun, while Gōṇḍi plural shows common -k in the plural -kun. The usual Brāhūī dative affix is -e, probably a modified demonstrative particle, but the common Dravidian ending -ku is found in Brāhūī also in -ilka, iska (up to) etc. Mal. dative affix -nnu found in words with final -n is from ṅk, as in Tam. innum (yet) (<inkum<in*d*rkum<irkum).

There is no doubt that the affix -ku is indigenous in Dravidian; prehistoric affinities between Aryan and Dravidian, if investigated, might probably suggest connection between Dravidian ku and kei on the one hand and the kru, kara group of Sanskrit on the other. But of this relationship we have as yet no proof, and judging from the primitive nature of the root *kei* and the dativa1 idea also, we shall not be wrong in thinking that this root as well as the derived particle -ku is purely Dravidian.

The affix -ku, it is worthy of note, has an associative force in Kui (e.g. ābake *with father*), and is also used to denote *motion to* in Kui and in Tamil (e.g. Kui *sōru -ku, to the hill* and Tam. *vīṭṭukku*). These meanings probably arose in close association with the Dativa1 meaning.

The Genitive

(*a*) -a, the demonstrative particle was probably a very ancient affix; this is found in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and probably in Gōṇḍi -in, -a and Telugu Gen. plural -a.

(*b*) The Telugu sing. genitival ending -i is either from -in (with the final n omitted), or it may be a demonstrative particle which

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conferred an adjectival idea. It may be proper to derive this -i from an original -a, but we have no convincing evidence that -a alone was used in primitive Dravidian.

(*c*) -e appears in the genitive plural of Tuḷu; the free use of demonstratives to form case-suffixes sufficiently explains the origin of this affix as being directly from Tuḷu sing. gen. -a. It is idle to try to derive it from an ancient -in or -ina, no traces of which exist in Tuḷu.

(*d*) Kurukh Gen. gahi alternating with Kur. dialectal gi, ki, shows the ending -i, combined probably with the dat. -g.

(*e*) -in appears in the genitive in Tamil, Kūi and Gōṇḍi (with -a). The earliest gen. affix was probably the demonstrative -a. The use of ad usually in gen. singular for neuter nouns is also seen; but the affix -in (from the loc. il) which, as we have shown above, was a very powerful affix in Dravidian seems to have largely displaced -a and -adu, except in certain dialects. Later still, the post-position uḍaiya came in. Uḍaiya is from the root uḍ (to join). The genitive relationship being very comprehensive in its significance, the older affixes were found insufficient, and hence we have uḍaiya in Tamil, de in Malayāḷam, re (<*t*re<*d* (e) <uḍ) in Koḍagu, -ata of Tuḷu and the plural -te of Gōṇḍi are probably related to oḍ or uḍ.

The use of the crude base as genitive in Tamil, Kui and Telugu indicates the earliest stage of inflexional development.

The Ablative

This should have assumed the form of a definite case-relationship, probably at a later stage, as we see that the most conspicuous of the Dravidian affixes in all the important dialects is the reduced form of an ancient verbal past participle ir*n*du (ir+n, spontaneous nasal +tu, past affix) meaning *having remained.*

Tamil retains iru*n*du, beside nin*d*ru (nil+tu).

Malayāḷam has i*nn*u<iru*nn*u<iru*nd*u.

Kannaḍa indu also should be traced to irundu.

Koḍagu iñju<i*n*du<ir*n*du.

Kurukh inti also may be traced to irundu. The explanation offered for inti that it is composed of in+adu fails to satisfactorily account for the ablatival idea.

Tuḷu ḍ, du is composed of aḍ+du (which latter is from indu). The Tuḷu ablative is used for the instrumental and the conjunctive also.

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Telugu uṇḍi may probably be the past participle of uḷ, as Caldwell suggests,but uṇḍi may appropriately be traced to *in*du, as the cerebralisation of n and d into ṇ and ḍ is possible in Telugu, on the analogy of vaṭṭu (dry) from va*ṭṭ*ru etc. Compare the cerebral values of n and d in Korava instrumental -iṇḍri, and note also the Telugu dialectical nuñchi which should go back preferably to a form with dental plosive.

Brāhūi -an is probably the modification of -in which is employed in old Tamil as an instrumental affix; an alternative explanation is, it is probably cognate with āl, the old Tamil instrumental ending.

The Instrumental

Tuḷu and Koḍagu employ the ablative form also for the instrumental. Kannaḍa employs -in, having the alternative form -im. Telugu na is from -in-ṭ-a. Brāhūi -aṭ< aṭ signifies *contact.*

Tamil āl, as explained above, is probably the lengthened form of al or el meaning *place* or *time*, which is also used in conditional clauses. Prof. Vinson suggests: "on y (i.e., in āl) voit une alteration de *kāl* (canal, voie); on a aussi propose, mais cela est moins admissible, d'y voir une contraction de *āgal.*" Neither of these explanations could be satisfactorily supported.

The Locative

This case is probably one of the oldest in Dravidian, as we see from the fact that the ending -il becomes generalised early in Dravidian as -in for many other cases.

al, -il, -uḷ, ɪ with their variants -ol, -lo, and alli, are common affixes in the South.

Kurukh -nu <lu <ul <ul.

Brāhūi -ṭi and Tuḷu -oṭu are from the root aṭ (aḍ) or oṭ (oḍ) cf. Tam. dialectal -aṇḍe which has a Loc. force. -attu is locative ending of Tamil and Malayāḷam; Goṇḍi -te, Kui -ti and -ti in lai-ti are related, and traceable to the neuter dem. from which attu (the increment) has already been derived.

The Conjunctive

It is formed with -to (from the root toḍ) in Brāhūi and Telugu while Tamil, Malayāḷam and Tuḷu (-ḍ) have particles derivable from uḍ or oḍ.

Conclusion

I have in the above paper tried to briefly indicate the following important characteristics of Dravidian post-positional affixes;

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(1) both *demonstrative particles*[1] and other *primitive roots* should have contributed to the stock of affixes; (2) the use of -n (<il) in so many dialects and in so many cases and as a common inflectional increment in some dialects shows it to be one of the earliest in origin; (3) therefore the *locative* idea should be regarded as marking one of the very early initial stages; (4) the dative affix ku is traceable to the ancient root *kai*; and (5) inflexional increments are only the indurated vestiges of an earlier system of flexional terminations. I give below a conspectus of the part played by demonstrative particles and post-positions in Dravidian, so far as we can do so in our present knowledge;

Prominent Post-positions

(*i*) in (<il): loc., gen., and acc.; and as an increment also.

(*ii*) ir*n*du, i*n*da, i*nn*u, uṇḍi: ablative.

(*iii*) āl (from *el* or *al*): instrumental.

(*iv*) toḍ, oḍ: instrumental and conjunctive; also in Tam. gen. uḍaiya.

Demonstrative Particle :—a (with its variant e)

Accusative (Tam., Mal., and Brāhūi)

Genitive (Tamil, Kann., Tuḷu)

Dem. ad.

Inflectional increment in Gōṇḍi, Kann., Tel. etc. and Loc. and Genitival value in Tamil. Mal., Kolāmi etc.

A comparative examination of the above would show that demonstratives were active in acc. and gen. which are probably two of the most prominent case-relationships. The dat. and the loc. appear to have employed post-positions at a very early stage, and the suffix for the latter gained sufficient dominance to be able to influence the other case-endings in many dialects.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

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1 Numerous other post-positions appear in old Tamil; each has a generalised significance of its own based on its original meaning: kaḍai, vaḷi, māḍu, aṇḍai, pāl, kiṭṭa, aruge, mudal, puḍei etc. etc. Many of these are retained in the modern dialects to render minute shades of locative relationships.

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Quotations from the Tattvasamgraha

In I.H.Q., vol. V, p. 354, Prof. Poussin has found out that seven kārikās from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntirakṣita (and not *Śānta*° as printed) are quoted in Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bib. Ind.). But, in fact, there are many more as the following list will show. The kārikās marked with an asterisk are those already traced by Prof. Poussin.

	First pādas of the Kārikās		Pages of the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*	Numbers of the Kārikās of the Tattvasaṃgraha
1	vijñānaṃ jaḍarūpebhyaḥ	...	396	2,000
2	kriyākārakabhedena[1]	...	"	2,001
3	tasmin dhyānasamāpanne	...	419	3,241
4	tābhir jijñāsitān arthān	...	"	3,242
5	anye punar ihātmānam	...	453	171
6	śubhāśubhānāṃ kartāraṃ	...	"	172
7	*vyāvṛttyanugamātmānam	...	"	222
8	*yathāheḥ kuṇḍalāvasthā[2]	...	"	223
9	tathaiva nitya caitanya-	...	"	224
10	*jaiminīyā iva prāhuḥ	...	454	311
11	*caitanyam anye manyante	...	"	285
12	pradhānenopanītaṃ ca	...	455	286
13	*nityajñānavivarto'yam[3]	...	"	324
14	*grāhyalakṣaṇasaṃyuktam	...	"	329
15	*kecit tu[4] saugatammanyāḥ	...	456	336
16	jñānamātrā[5]disambandhaḥ	...	470	176
17	sarvahetunirāśaṃsaṃ	...	541	110
18	rājīvakesarādīnāṃ	...	"	111
19	yathaiva kaṇṭakādīnāṃ	...	"	112
20	sarvotpattimatām īśam	...	545	46
21	aśeṣaśaktipracitāt	...	562	7
22	yadi tv asad bhavet kāryaṃ	...	"	4
23	sukhādyanvitam etac ca[6]	..	563	14

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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1 TS, *bhāvena.* 2 In *b* TS. *tv anuvartate* for *na nivartate.*
3 BCP, *nityaḥ* 4 Omitted in BCP.
5 TS, *yatna* for *mātrā* 6 BCP, *etad dhi.*

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REVIEWS

BEGRIFFSUNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM NYĀYABHĀSYA, von Moritz Spitzer, Leipzig, 1927.

The author has studied in this essay some of the notions treated in the Nyāyabhāṣya, and chiefly the notion meant by the word *padārtha* and that expressed by such words as *vyakti*, *ārkṛti*, and *jāti*. The research, though of a limited compass, is diligent and shows that the author has good knowledge of the commentary of Vātsyāyana. But it is, I think, a little overloaded with discussions and speculations which can hardly be said to contribute to the interpretation of a terminology which is not always easy to render in the very terms of European philosophy. Moreover it is evident that the research could have been more complete, if treated with reference to the same topics, as discussed in other works and which much contribute to the exact interpretation of the concise statements of Vātsyāyana.

GUISEPPE TUCCI

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA, by the Rev. Henry Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, vol. I (Madras 1927).

It was almost exactly thirty years ago that the illustrious Robert Sewell lifted the veil of obscurity from the history of one of the great Empires of Mediæval India in his justly famous work *Vijayanagara, a forgotten empire*. In recent times, the path opened by his zealous researches has been followed by a number of scholars among whom Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar deserves prominent mention. The present work is a most valuable contribution in this important branch of mediæval history. It takes up the thread of the narrative at the time (c. 1541 A.C.) when the Aravidu family first came into prominence in the counsels of Vijayanagara, and seeks in this first volume to trace its history down to the death of the third king of the dynasty (c. 1585-1614 A.C.). It opens with an elaborate Bibliography (pp. XVII-XLIV) containing exhaustive lists of authorities—which comprise articles contributed to obscure magazines—arranged under the broad

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headings of Contemporary Sources (both published and unpublished) and Literature. The work consists of twenty-six chapters in the course of which the long and intricate history of the Empire in its relations with its own feudatories as well as the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan and the European trading companies and the Jesuits, not to speak of its internal administration and the developments of art and literature under its sway, are narrated at full length and with great skill. Among the many points of interest which emerge from the study of these pages only a few may be mentioned. In the first two stages of the battle of Raksas Tagdi (usually known as the battle of Talikota) the success was decidedly on the side of the Hindus, and the tide was turned against them in the third stage only by the treachery of two Mahammadan generals in the employ of Vijayanagara. After the catastrophic defeat of the Hindus the city escaped destruction at the hands of the conquerors, and it became for a short time once more the seat of the imperial capital. The destruction of the city was more due to the ravages of time than of man. The Empire of Vijayanagara which was threatened with collapse after the crushing defeat at the hands of the Mahammadan powers was continued for another century by the vigorous exertions of the kings of Aravidu dynasty. The revival was mostly marked in the reign of Venkata II (c. 1585-1614 A.C), "the most illustrious sovereign of this dynasty, who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nāyakas in the South, caused Rājās of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and fine arts throughout his vast dominions."

The value of the present volume is enhanced by a number of maps, of which two bear the dates 1516 and 1652 A.C. It closes with four valuable Appendices containing, among other things, collections of documents from the Government archives of Portugese India, the private archives of the Society of Jesus and the archives of Roman Catholic diocese of Mylapore. We await the publication of the second volume with great interest.

U. N. G.

THE TATTVASAṄGRAHA of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary of Kamalaśīla edited with an Introduction in Sanskrit by Paṇḍit Embar Krishnamacharya and a Foreword in English by the General

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Editor Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxx) in 2 vols. (pp. clvii+80+936), with Indexes of the Kārikās, quotations, and names of philosophical schools and writers (97 pp.).

Paṇḍit Embar Krishnamacharya and the great patron of learning H.H. the Maharaja of Gaekwad have rendered an invaluable service to the cause of Buddhistic researches by placing before the public this very important work, the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntirakṣita, along with the equally, if not more, useful *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla.

Among the Pāli or Sanskrit Buddhistic works, that have up till now been printed, the *Tattvasaṅgraha* occupies a unique position, containing, as it does, an exposition and a critical examination of the doctrines of some of the prominent schools of Buddhism such as the Sarvāstivādins, Sautrāntikas, Vātsiputrīyas (or Saṃmitīyas), Sāṃkrāntikas (not noticed in the Index), Mādhyamikas and Yogācāras, as also the views of distinguished Buddhist writers like Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Vasubandhu, Buddhadeva, Saṃghabhadra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, and Vasumitra.

It also makes a bold stand against the views advocated by the Hindu schools of philosophy, viz., Sāṃkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Yoga, and Cārvāka as also against the Syādvāda of the Jainas. The views of some of the distinguished non-Buddhistic writers like Kambalāśvatara, Uddyotakara, Aviddhakarṇa, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkarasvāmin, Vātsyāyana, Śabarasvāmin, Vindhyāvāsin, Īśvarakṛṣṇa, Ācārya Sūri, Māṭharācārya, Bhāmaha, Bhartṛhari, Bāṇa and Śubhagupta have also been made the target of its polemics. In some of the Buddhistic works like the *Visuddhimagga*, *Abhidharmakoṣa*, *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and *Laṅkāvatāra*, the attention of the authors was directed mainly to the exposition of the doctrines of the schools of Buddhism to which they belonged, with occasional criticisms of the views of some of the contemporary Buddhistic schools. The *Kathāvatthu* may be pointed out as the only treatise written with the exclusive object of refuting the doctrines of schools of Buddhism from the standpoint of the Theravādins. Perhaps in conformity with Buddha's dictum *attānaṃ na ukkaṃseti, paraṃ na vambheti*, which is echoed in the Aśoka inscriptions, the Buddhist writers never thought it worth while to spend their energies on attempts to prove the hollowness of the views of the non Buddhistic schools. But quite contrary to this attitude of non-interference of the early Buddhist authors, the non-Buddhistic writers and commentators have attempted not only to give an exposition of the views of the principal Buddhistic schools, e.g., in the *Sarvadarśana-*

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saṅgraha, *Sarvamatasaṅgraha*, *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, but also make caustic and sometimes unjust criticisms of the Buddhistic views, e.g. in the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya*, *Tantravārttika*, and *Nyāyavārttika*. Śāntirakṣita is the only Buddhist writer who is so far known to have taken up his pen in the fashion of the non-Buddhists, and has, by his rigidly logical arguments, brought out the excellences of the doctrines of Buddhism, exposing the logical fallacies and unwarranted assumptions of the non-Buddhistic writers. One of the most important features of Śāntirakṣita's treatise and Kamalaśila's *Pañjikā* is that they state at the outset *as fully as possible* the views of those from whom they differ, and then proceed to refute them, a feature not found in the non-Buddhistic writings of this class.

The general editor of the Series, Dr. Bhattacharya, has put in a good deal of labour in his lucid English summary (pp. xcvii-clvi) of the diverse views of the various writers, and schools of philosophy, as presented in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, along with the reasons put forward by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśila in their attempts to refute those views. Every page of the summary bears testimony to a keen study and a thorough grasp of the texts of the Hindu systems of philosophy, without which, it is difficult to make one's way through the tangled skein of arguments used by savants like Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla.

No less commendable is the task accomplished by the editor Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya, a typical example of the old school of Śāstrins,—a school, which to our great regret, is fast disappearing for want of adequate encouragement and patronage. He has given, for the the convenience of readers, the essence of the big treatise of 1000 pages within the small compass of 42 pages, and that in the shape of Kārikās. To reproduce the words of the Editor (Intro., p. 23):

अन्तःपातमशक्त्वैव निबन्धाभ्यन्तरस्थितिम् ।
आपाततो दिदृक्षन्ति केचिदाचार्यगौरवः ॥

These Kārikās are redolent of his deep learning, and his ability to express briefly in verses such stiff philosophical topics as find a place in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*.

Śāntirakṣita outlines the whole theme of his work in the first six salutary verses, so ably commented on by Kamalaśila. The keynote of the verses i.e. of the whole work, is the theory of relative existence (Pratītyasamutpāda), the preaching of which is regarded as the best compliment (stotrābhidhānam, p. 10) one can offer to Buddha.

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Śāntirakṣita's reference to the Pratītyasamutpāda as the principal teaching of Buddha in the opening verses naturally reminds us of Nāgārjuna doing the same in his *Mādhyamikakārikās* :

यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रपञ्चोपशमं शिवम्।
देशयामास संबुद्धस्तं वन्दे वदतां वरम्॥

It also brings to our mind the memorable verses

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत्।
तेषां च यो निरोधो एवंवादी महाश्रमणः॥

which effected a change in Śāriputra's views resulting in his conversion to Buddhism. In all Buddhistic works, whether Pāli or Sanskrit, the theory of causation (Paṭiccasamuppāda) has been given the highest place and is identified with the *Dhamma* of Buddha (Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati—*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 191). In the present treatise, it is regarded as the best utterance of Buddha (pradhānam idaṃ Bhagavataḥ pravacanaratnaṃ) and upon it the author bases practically his whole work. In explaining the object (prayojana) of the work, he says that the *Tattvasaṅgraha* is meant to do good to the world, which consists in the attainment of the highest state. The highest state can be attained by the avoidance of misconceptions (viparyāsa), the root of all afflictions. Thus it follows that the good of the world can be effected by counteracting afflictions, which in their turn depend on the attainment of a state free from misconceptions (aviparyāsa) by realizing that like actions (karma) bear like fruits (phala) and that the individual (pudgala) as much as the things of the world (dharma) are essenceless (nairātmya) i.e. unreal. This realization of the true nature of things removes ignorance (avidyā), the cause of repeated existences as also the screen made up of afflictions (kleśāvaraṇa) and the screen obstructing true knowledge (jñeyāvaraṇa), and leads to the attainment of the final beatitude (apavarga). The true view of things described above can be brought about only by means of the realisation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* i.e. the understanding of the truth that things which are produced by cause (hetu) and condition (pratyaya) are really non-existent, and are only relatively true (saṃvṛti-satya), while the highest truth or the reality (i.e. Nirvāṇa or Tathatā) is uncaused (ahetu) and unconditioned (apratyaya). Śāntirakṣita therefore by taking up the task of presenting an exposition of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* (theory of relative existence) is doing good to the world. He has also another object in view namely to refute the charges made against Buddhism by the non-Buddhists regarding the *Pratītyasamutpāda* as a

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viṣamahetu and as a theory unable to stand the test of Pramāṇa (logical proofs). In one word, the object of his whole work is to show the important features of the Law of Relative Existence (Pratītyasamutpāda) as explained by Buddha.

Having set before himself the task of refuting all doctrines with the help of the theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda,* the author proceeds to examine the theory of origin of the world as propounded by the Sāṅkhyas, Naiyāyikas, Pātañjalas, Mīmāṃsākas and others, shows their weaknesses, and concludes in the following words of Buddha, quoted by the commentator Kamalaśīla : स चायमङ्कुरो न स्वयंकृतो नोभयकृतो नेश्वरनिर्मितो न प्रकृतिसंभूतो नैककारणाधीनो नाप्यहेतुः समुत्पन्न इति। [The sprout is neither self-originated, nor produced by both (Soul and Matter), nor made by Īśvara nor produced from Matter (Prakṛti), nor subject to one cause, nor without cause.]. This statement of Buddha is only an illustration or rather an expansion of the theory of causation i.e, that things are relatively existent, and their origin and decay are subject to causes and conditions. To this discussion the author devotes a few chapters, viz., *Pradhāneśvarobhayāhetukaśabdabrahmātmaparīkṣā.* In the seventh chapter (on Ātmaparīkṣā) he discusses the views held by the Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṃsakas, Sāṅkhyas, Digambaras, Aupaniṣadakas and Vātsiputrīyas.

Admitting that things are causally originated, some may suppose that they are not momentary (akṣaṇika). So the author devotes a chapter to the *Sthirabhāvaparīkṣā* (ch.viii) [examination of the continuance (the general editor says 'permanence') of entities] and concludes that all constituted things have only momentary existence, for permanently existing things cannot have activity (kriyā) ; their appearance itself is their activity (kriyā) as also their doer (kāraka).

Then, if the things have only momentary existence, how can there be actions and their fruits. This leads the author to an examination of the *Karmaphalasambandha* (ch. ix) (Relation of Action with their Fruits), in which he wants to establish that there are actions and fruits, but there is no doer, who leaving aside one set of skandhas produces another,—all are mere symbols (*dharmasaṅketa*), the origination of skandhas and dhātus being due to *Pratītyasamutpāda.*

There are however some schools of philosophy like the Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas and Āgamamātrakas (evidently refering to the Sarvāstivādins) who contend that guṇas (qualities), dravyas (elementary substances), karma (motion), and so forth are realities and ever existent. To refute this view, Śāntirakṣita devotes six chapters (x-xv) to

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the examination of the *Saṭpadārtha* (six categories), and shows that the truth is devoid of them (taiḥ śūnyaṃ rahitam ityarthaḥ).

But if the things of the world be non-existent, is not Pratītya-samutpāda a matter which pertains to the province of mere sound (śabdavikalpa)? This leads Śāntirakṣita to an examination of the *Śabdārtha* (ch. xvi). Sounds (Śabda-vikalpas) have no use unless they refer to upādhis (guṇa, dravya, etc.), which are in fact super-impositions made by Vijñāna upon the external world. In short *śabdārthas* are misconceptions (vikalpas) obstructing true knowledge; there is no connexion between the word and the meaning. The truth in the highest sense is beyond the scope of *śabdārtha*, and beyond all vikalpas. As the Śabdārthas are accepted in the world of phenomena, the Teacher had no other alternative than to have recourse to Saṃvṛti teaching in order to lead beings steeped in ignorance to the highest truth (Paramārtha), and hence the usefulness of the theory of relative existence.

Then the author proceeds to show by his examination of the *Pratyakṣānumānapramāṇāntara* (chs. xvii-xix) that the logical processes adopted by the non-Buddhistic schools to establish the truth are imperfect (aspaṣṭa) while those of the Buddhists, confined to *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna* are perfect (spaṣṭa).

Three chapters (xx-xxii) treat of the utility of Pratītyasamutpāda in the refutation of (i) the Jaina syādvāda (the assertion of possibilities and non-possibilities, (ii) the theory of transference (saṃkrānti) of the Buddhist school of Sāṃkrāntikas, a branch of the Sarvāstivadins, leading to an examination of the *Traikālya* (the past, present and future) and (iii) the Lokāyata view that the world has a beginning and an end. This discussion ends with an examination of the *Bahirartha* (objective world), favouring the views of the Vijñānavādins (see infra).

The next two chapters (xxiv and xxv) deal with the question as to whether the theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda* is apauruṣeya (revealed) like the Vedas, or uttered by Buddha after realisation by him of the truth within his own self. Śāntirakṣita naturally favours the latter view and rejects the revealed character *Apauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas, or their character as self-evident (*svataḥ pramāṇya*) truths. The last chapter (atīndriyadarśipuruṣaparīkṣā) takes up the question of omniscience (sarvajñatva) attained by Buddha though it is also supposed by some of the brāhmaṇic writers to have been attained by philosophers like Kapila. While discussing the Sarvajñatva of Buddha he also deals

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with the attainments which distinguish a Hīnayānist from a Mahāyānist i.e. an Arhat from a Buddha.

Now we shall conclude our remarks by referring to one or two points touched in the Foreword and the Introduction in connection with the last chapter. Dr. Bhattacharyya realises the importance of the last chapter on *Sarvajñatva* and has done his best to give us an idea of the contents of the chapter. While explaining 'Sarvajñatā,' he does not distinguish it from 'Sarvākārajñatā' so exhaustively dealt with in the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*. Then while speaking of the two 'screens', kleśāvaraṇa (screen due to afflictions, such as rāga, dveṣa, moha) and jñeyāvaraṇa (screen obstructing true knowledge), he has missed the point, to which the remarks of the commentator are directed. The *kleśāvaraṇa* is removed by the realisation of the *nairātmya* (essencelessness) of Pudgala (individual beings). This is achieved by the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas (Hīnayānists) by following the Hīnayānic code of discipline and the teachings of the Nikāyas. In other words, the realisation of *Pudgalanairātmya* means the attainment of that state of mind in which one finds the things of the world as mere conglomeration of elements without any essence, the existence of which is wrongly supposed by beings blinded by *Avidyā* (ignorance). Hence a person, on attaining this state of mind, cannot have attachment, hatred etc. The Mahāyānists, however, go further than this. They realise the *Pudgalanairātmya* as above, and then try to realize the *Dharmanairātmya* or *Dharmasamatā*, i.e., they realize that the elements (dhātu, dravya, guṇa and so forth) have in reality no existence outside Vijñāna, they being mere thought-creations or super-impositions made by Vijñāna upon the external world (discussed in ch. xxiii of this work). The realization of this fact makes the perfect beings look upon the whole world as undifferentiable by positive and negative attributes (and hence, sama).

So the difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, or for the matter of that, between an Arhat, a Pratyekabuddha, and a Buddha, hinges not so much on karuṇā (compassion) as stated by the editors, as on the realization of the two nairātmyas. *Maitrī* and *Karuṇā* are counted as distinctive marks of Mahāyāna, but it is really the realization of Dharmanairātmya that distinguishes a Mahāyānist from a Hīnayānist, the latter being incapable of realising it according to the Mahāyāna standpoint. Both the editors have missed this point and made remarks (see Eng.Intro., pp.xlvii ff.; Sanskrit Intro., p.22) unwarranted by the text.

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As stated already the merits of the introductions in English and Sanskrit are many and reflect credit on their writers. The only thing that I would like to observe is that the historical information supplied about Vasumitra, Saṅghabhadra and such other Buddhist writers should have been supplemented by the latest information supplied by the Japanese and French scholars in the oriental journals like the *Eastern Buddhist*, *Toung Pao*, and *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. The works of Burnouf and Wassiljew, though old, are still invaluable for the biography of the creators of the post-Christian Buddhistic history. To give a few instances, he does not refer to Masuda's article in the *Asia Major* (1925, p. 7) while speaking of Vasumitra (p. lvi); for Buddhadeva (p. lviii) he does not consult the *Abhidharmakośa*. He does not also supply the biographical information given in the works of Tāranātha or Burnouf.

For Śāntirakṣita also, he has not consulted Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, which contains some information and which may be given here: Tāranātha (p. 204-5) tells us that the tradition about Śāntirakṣita being a follower of the Mādhyamika school (cf. Eng. Intro., p. xxii) is wrong, for no one would believe it if he consults Siṃhabhadra's[1] commentary on Śāntirakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*. Tāranātha further says (p. 212) that it is a well-known fact that Ārya Bodhisattva and the author of the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*, i.e., Śāntirakṣita were identical. He worked for the salvation of beings, mainly during the reign of Gopāla. In the treatise 'Pure Logic of Buddhavacana' written by King Khri-srong-*l*de-*m*tsan, the name of Paṇḍita Bodhisattva is mentioned as Dharmaśāntighoṣa. Śāntirakṣita might have been known by many names but his seven disciples refer to him as 'Śāntirakṣita'. Tāranātha further informs us that there is also an opinion that Śāntirakṣita, the author of the commentary on the *Madhyamika-satya-dvaya* composed by Jñānagarbha and the author of the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra* are not identical; so it is open to doubt as to which Śāntirakṣita is meant. This information naturally makes us hesitate to accept Dr. Bhattacharya's statements which mix up the different persons bearing the name Śāntirakṣita.

A perusal of the Editor's remarks in his Sanskrit Introduction (pp. 1, 2) regarding *Saugatamatasyānārvācīnatā* and his manner of treat-

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1 Siṃhabhadra learnt the Mādhyamika text and its teachings from Śāntirakṣita (Tāra., p. 219).

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ment of the subject-matter of the treatise show that, imbued as he may be with the ideas embedded in the Brāhmaṇic Śāstras, his orientation towards the view of the Truth from the Buddhistic standpoint is as it should be. We welcome the publication of the treatise in spite of any shortcomings that may have crept into it for not settling the text by a comparison with the Tibetan version (see Cordier, *Cat. du Fonds Tibetain*, pt. iii, p. 456) to which, however, the present editors do not make even a passing reference. Had the publication been delayed for this reason like Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, the completion of the edition and its presentation before the public would have been postponed to the Greek calends.

N. DUTT

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient

(Tome xxviii. nos. 1-2 : Jany-June, 1928).

AOMI-NO MABITO GENKAI (779 A.C.).—*Le Voyage de Kanshin en Orient* (742-754)—Translated from Japanese into English by J. Takakusu (and from English into French by Mlle Jeanne Wilkin). In this issue of the Bulletin appears only the Introductory chapter of the work "Travels of Kanshin in the East." Prof. Takakusu divides this chapter into four Sections :

I. *The period of Nara* (710-794)—This period is the central point of interest in the Japanese history, for during this period the civilisation of Japan rapidly advanced through the combined influence of the Korean, Chinese and Indian cultures. There was a University of the State at Nara, details of which are given here.

II. *The creators of the period of Nara*—In this section, the lives and activites of the following distinguished persons are given : (i) Kanshin of China, (ii) Tajihi-no Mabito Hironari, *alias* Tan Tch'e, (iii) Fujiwara-no Asomi Kiyokawa *alias* Ho ts'ing, (iv) Abe-No Asomi Nakamaro *alias* Tchong Man, (v) Otomo-no Sukune Komaro *alias* Hou-wan, (vi) Kibi-no Asomi Makibi *alias* Tchen Pei, (vii) Yeiyei and Fusho, (viii) Dosen of China, (ix) Hoshin of China, (x) Shitaku of China, (xi) Bodhisena of Southern India and Buttetsu of Campā [Bodhisena was a brahmin of Bharadvāja gotra. He went to Mt Wou-t'ai in China (733 A. C.) in search of Mañjuśrī, who was supposed to have been living there. He met on his way a priest of Campā called Buttetsu. Not finding Mañjuśrī on the mountain he went to Japan in search of him, at the instance of Hironari (No. 2 of this list). In 736 they arrived at Osaka and took up residence at the monastery of Daianji and the imperial court furnished them with their clothes and other necessaries. It is said that they used to converse in Sanskrit and Japanese. In Japan he was called Baramon Sojo. He gave instruction in Sanskrit and the doctrine of *Gaṇḍavyūha*. He died in 760 at the age of 57], (xii) Nyoho and Hosai, (xiii) Gun Horiki of K'ouen-louen and T'ien T'ing of Campā, and (xiv) Roben

III. *Text on the description of the Eastern Voyage of Kanshin*—There are on it four different works, details of which are given here.

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IV. *Biographical notes on Kanshin*—There are numerous biographies of Kanshin in Japanese and Chinese mentioned here with details.

LOUIS FINOT.—*Nouvelles Inscriptions du Cambodge.* The writer gives in this article an account of the new inscriptions found by Monsieur V. Goloubew in course of his excavation at Sambor :

(i) Three altars have been found, one having the inscription '*Pūrva*', the second '*Paścima*,' and the third on all four sides, *Oṃ jaiminaye svāhā.*

(ii) One pillar, the upper part of which is lost, the only noticeable inscriptions are the names of two donors. *Kamratāṅ Śrī Bhavavarmma* and the *Kamaratāṅ aṅ Mucalinda.*

(iii) Another inscription found on a southern pillar of a new sanctuary discovered by Goloubew in June, 1927. It commemorates the excavation of a *Liṅga* of Hara (Śiva) in 549 Śaka (627 A. C.) by the brahmin Vidyāviśeṣa, Secretary of King Īśānavarman. Vidyāviśeṣa was proficient in Śabda (Grammar), Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya and Bauddha philosophies.

II. *Inscriptions of Sek Ta Tuy.* The temple of Sek Ta Tuy was noticed for the first time by Mr. Parmentier in 1929. The Gopura on the east of the 2nd enclosure offers 4 inscriptions. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit in Śloka-form.

The inscription on the pillars of the outer gate commemorates the erections of a *liṅga* by the royal guru Yajñavarāha, its revenue being associated with that of another god Tribhuvana Maheśvara. There is a discussion about the date of the inscription, and is supposed to belong to the 10th century A. C.

The two inscriptions of the interior gate are in Khmer. The first relates to sale of land, excavation of tanks, etc., while the second to the various donations given to the God of Mount of the brahmins. Its date is approximately the 11th century A.C.

III. *The pillar of Prasat Trapāṅ Run*—The inscription is on the four faces of the pillar. The west face has 59 lines in Sanskrit, the east 63 lines in Khmer, the south and the north 15 and 12 lines respectively containing a list of slaves of both sexes.

The Sanskrit inscription after a hymn to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā gives the genealogy of the family of the donor, Kavīndra-paṇḍita, who was a teacher of Sanskrit literature.

The Khmer Inscription describes in detail the procedure followed

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in the transference of lands by gifts. This inscription is important from many points of view, specially because it helps to ascertain the situation of Aninditapura, a great principality of Cambodge.

G. COEDES—*Etudes Cambodgiennes.* In this series of studies, the present number contains : (xix) a discussion about "the Date of Bayon of Angkor" with an appendix containing the inscription of Bayon ; (xx) The Capital of Jayavarman ; (xxi) The genealogical tradition about the first King of Angkor according to the Inscription of Yaśovarman and of Rājendravarman ; (xxii) The Date of Accession of Jayavarmaparameśvara.

PAUL MUS—*Etudes Indiennes et Indochinoises.* This article deals with

(i) The Inscription of Prakāśadharma dedicated to Vālmīki

(ii) The Adorned Image of Buddhas : Its Indian Origin : Śākyamuni in the Mahāyānic phase. Coedes takes the tradition of adorned human Buddha as purely Indo-Chinese, as there is no such conception in the Indian iconography. Durioselle differs from him in view of the fact that the adorned images of Buddha are found in Burma. The present writer refers to the report of the Archæological Survey of India (1921-22) where Mr. R. Chanda has given illustrations of the new finds of Buddha images of great importance, having likeness with those of Pagan. He then examines the passage of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, relating to Buddhological conceptions and incidentally shows that the doctrine preached in it in the first chapter is Hīnayāna while that in the later portions is Mahāyāna. Then he deals with the Trikāya conception, specially Nirmāṇa and Sambhoga-kāyās from literary and archæological materials and paintings. In short, the writer's chief object is to trace the evolution of historic Buddha in the Mahāyānic faith. (N. Dutt).

Indian Antiquary, November, 1929

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI—*Bengal's Contribution to Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit.* It has been shown in this continued article that Bengal was not content with the cultivation of Navya-nyāya only as is generally supposed but contributed to the literature of almost every other school of philosophy.

Ibid., December, 1929

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*The Sāmbhar Inscription of Calukya Jayasiṃha's Time.* The importance of the inscription lies in the

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fact that saṃvat 998 or A.C. 941 (Vasu-nanda-nidhan varṣe) has been given here as the date of the establishment of the Anhilwāḍa kingdom by the Salaṅkī Mūlarāja, which event, according to V. A. Smith, took place in 961 A.C.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. III, pt. iv

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*The Works of Prabhākara.* In discussing the question as to which of the two works—Vivaraṇa and Nibandhana known to have been written by the great Prabhākara—should be identified with the extant Mīmāṃsā commentary called Bṛhatī, the writer of this article differs from Mm. S. Kuppusvami Sastri and supports Dr. Jha's opinion that "the Nibandhana of Prabhākara is the same as the work that we have at present."

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa.*

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL.—*Studies in the Upaniṣads.* This instalment of the paper deals with Symbols and Upāsānās expounded in the various Upaniṣads.

D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI.—*Definition of Poetry or Kāvya.* In this portion of the thesis the different definitions of Poetry found in the works on Poetics have been considered.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Kālidāsa and the Philosophy of Love.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1929

L. D. BARNETT.—*The Genius: A Study in Indo-Euorpean Psychology.* The writer agrees that the conception of guardian deities known in India as *adhiṣṭhātṛ devatās* presiding over things or individuals is of Indo-European origin. He shows that the Roman and Greek idea of good and evil spirits warring against one another has exact correspondences in both the Avestan and Vedic thoughts.

H. R. DIWEKAR.—*Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti.* Evidences have been adduced here in support of the contention that Bhāmaha could not have written his work after Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, vol. VII, pt. i (1929)

E. SIEG.— *Karl Geldner(In Memoriam).* It is an obituary notice of the great Vedic scholar Prof. Karl Friedrich Geldner, who

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passed away on the 5th February, 1929 at the age of 76. He was born in Saalfeld in Thüringen and was the son of the Archdeacon Geldner. He joined the University of Leipzig, where he heard the lectures of Profs. Brockhaus and Windisch on Sanskrit and Zend (Avesta) for one year. He then moved to Tübingen, where he associated so much with Prof. Rudolf Roth that he settled there. Roth was then in the prime of his life and to him flocked many orientalists of the whole world. Among his students, there were the German HEINRICH ZIMMER, RICHARD GARBE, BRUNO LINDNER, the American CHARLES LANMAN, the Swiss ADOLF KAEGI, the Livonian LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER and PETER VON BRADTKE.

Geldner's first literary effort won for him a prize in 1874, which later on appeared in a developed form under the title *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (Over the Metric of the later Avesta). In 1875 appeared his *Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛg-veda* translated by Geldner and Kaegi with a contribution by Roth. The writer then gives an account of his works and the circumstances in which they were published.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha.* In this issue, this article has been concluded. The portion in the present issue deals with "Author Durgasiṃha and the time in which he lived"; the "Correspondences between Durgasiṃha's version and other Pañcatantra versions" followed by an explanation of the questions whether Vasubhāga's Pañcatantra is "an independent recension," and the relation between the original Pañcatantra and Durgasiṃha's version, and that between the Pañcatantra and Bṛhatkathā. A genealogical table is appended to the article showing "the relations between the different versions of the Bṛhatkathā and the Pañcatantra."

TH. ZACHARIAE.—*Die Wortsammlung des Demetrios Galanos und Ihre Quelle* (The Word-collection of Demetrios Galanos and their Sources). Galanos, a Greek Indologist, was born in 1760 and was in Benares in 1833. The writer says that the agreement between the Kalpadru and the lexicon of Galanos regarding the division of topics is so great that the latter must have had this Kośa before him and concludes that he utilised for his lexicon not only the Kośa but also the Amarakośa and Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.

J. J. MEYER.—*Einen Scheidenden bis an Wasser begleiten* (some lines of demarcation including that made by water): The writer

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mentions a number of ancient practices about the artifices resorted to by the Hindus for drawing the lines of demarcation.

B. BREOLOER.—*Study in Pāṇini.* It deals with *Śabdānuśāsana* (rules of phonetics).

TH. STCHERBATSKY.—*Über den Begriff 'Vijñāna' im Buddhismus* (On the Conception of *Vijñāna* in Buddhism). The writer justifies his opinion that citta = manaḥ = vijñāna against the criticism which Mr. Wallace made while reviewing his book "The Central Conception of Buddhism" in Z. für Buddhismus, VIII, p. 398.

vol. VIII, pt. i.

H. LÜDERS.—*Philologie, Geschichte und Archäologie in Indien.* This is a lecture delivered by the writer on the occasion of the fifteenth German Orientalists' Conference held at Bonn, containing a review of the progress made in the philological, historical and archæological studies relating to India. (N. Dutt).

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, October, 1929

R. SHAMA SHASTRY.—*The Aśvins.* With the help of some clue furnished by a few Mahābhārata-passages written in praise of the Aśvins and Vimalabodha's commentary thereon, the writer identifies the Vedic Aśvins with the celestial bodies, the sun and the moon.

M. H. RAMA SHARMA.—*Studies in Vijayanagara History.* This is a summary of the Kannada work *Paradāra-Sodara-Rāmana-Kathe* by the poet Nanjunda written in *circa* 1525 dealing with the accession of Kampila to the throne and the rise of his son Kumāra Rāmanātha to greatness.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Austric and Dravidian.* By the word 'Austric' the author describes the languages of the whole area extending from India on the west to the Polynesian Islands, and in this first instalment of which he points out what a great influence the Dravidian and Austric have hitherto exercised on each other, specially in Phonology.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.—*Pre historic Archæology in Kerala.*

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Obituary Notice

J. N. Samaddar

It is with a heavy heart that we have to announce the passing away of a rising Bengalee orientalist, Prof. J. N. Samaddar, on the 18th of November, 1929 at the early age of 45, much to the loss of oriental scholarship in India. He was ever ready to throw himself heart and soul into the vortex of any movement conducive to the study of ancient Indian culture. He was educated at Calcutta at the Presidency College and the Vangavasi College but he had to give up his studies owing to ill-health. He became a lecturer in history at P. M. College, Tangail, Mymensingh, and shortly afterwards, the senior lecturer at St. Columba's College at Hazaribagh. In 1912 he was appointed to a similar post at the Patna Government College where he served to the last of his days. In 1921 he was invited by the Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on the economic condition of ancient India, and in 1923 as a University Reader at Patna, he delivered his lectures on the glories of Magadha. These lecturers were collected and published in book-form. About the latter, Prof. A. B. Keith remarks:

"The author of this very interesting treatise on the Glories of Magadha has already established his capacity for useful work by his valuable monograph on the economic condition of ancient India and not only the general reader but also the expert will find matter for profitable study in his examination of the history of the Magadhan Capitals, of the edicts of Aśoka, and of the fate of the monasteries of Nalandā and Vikramaśilā."

The Benares and the Aligarh Universities also invited him to deliver courses of lectures. In 1909 he brought out "*Arthanīti*," a volume in Bengali. He took up the burden of initiating and maintaining a series of volumes on the history of India, *Samasāmayika Bhārata*, which he intended to finish in 25 volumes. This was to contain Bengali translations of the accounts relating to India left by travellers from the times of Candragupta Maurya down to the end of the Muhammadan rule including the descriptions of India left by the Greeks, Romans and other Europeans, the Chinese, and the Muhammadans. The author did not live to finish the series but could publish the following volumes covering

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nearly 2,500 pages: Five volumes containing the accounts written by Strabo, Pliny, Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Periplus etc. (Pts. I-V). Two volumes containing the descriptions of India by Fa-hian, Sang-yan, and Hui-Sang (Pt. VIII), and I-tsing (Pt. XI). Two volumes devoted to the writings of European travellers (Pts. XIX and XXI). During his last illness, he brought out the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume.* His other mentionable books are: *Engrajer Katha*, *Arthasastra*, *Caturveda* (Hindi). Some fictions also came out of his pen. His discovery of the Didarganj image is also worth mentioning.

Prof. Samaddar was of amiable disposition. He used to mix freely with his pupils and encouraged them in their different activities. The Chanakya Society, established for the purpose of encouraging studies in economics, owed to him a good deal.

It will be apparent from what has been stated above that Prof. Samaddar tried hard to enrich the Bengali literature by the translation of the accounts of the many travellers mentioned above, and endeavoured also to popularize the subject of economics by making its principles intelligible to his brethren of the province of Bengal by interpreting them in their mother tongue. When the Viśvabhāratī at Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's initiative took up the task of compiling suitable Bengali text-books for the B.A. and the M.A. classes, Prof. Samaddar extended to him his active support and wrote a volume for the series.

SUDHA KANTA DE

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CORRECTION SLIP

(I.H.Q., 1929)

In line 11, p. 443 read 'apartments.'

After the words '1330 B.S. (pp. 1-8)' in line 12, p. 580, read 'on the Govindapura copper-plate has escaped his notice.'

CORRECTION SLIP

P. 729	1.19	Read	*āthabhagiy*[*e*]	for	*athabhāgiya*
	1.29	,,	*silaṭhabha*	,,	*sil*(*ā*)*thabha*
	1.32	,,	*āthabhāgiy*[*e*]	,,	*āthabhūgiya*
	1.37	,,	*āthabhāgiy*[*e*]	,,	*athabhāgiya*

The following two pages 41,42 should replace the corresponding pages of the Supplement (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī) to I.H.Q., vol. II, no. 3.

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paribhañjanaṃ pāpuṇanti, idh' eva ca sukhaṃ vā sātaṃ vā na labhanti. *Tasmā idaṃ tevijjānaṃ brāhmaṇānan* ti tasmā idaṃ brahmasahavyatāya maggadīpakaṃ tevijjakaṃ pāvacanaṃ tevijjānaṃ[1] brāhmaṇānaṃ ; *tevijjā-iriṇan* ti [2]tevijjā-araññaṃ, iriṇan[3] ti agāmakaṃ mahāraññaṃ vuccati. *Tevijjā-vipinan* ti pupphaphalehi [4]anupabhoga-rukkhehi sañcchannaṃ nirudakam araññaṃ, yattha maggato ukkamitvā parivattituṃ pi na sakkā hoti, taṃ sandhāyāha,—"tevijjā-vipinan ti pi vuccatī" ti. *Tevijjā-vyasanan* ti tevijjānaṃ paṭhavīdha vyasanasadisam etaṃ, yathā hi ñāti-roga-bhoga-diṭṭhi-sīlavyasanappattassa sukhaṃ nāma n'atthi, evan tevijjānaṃ tevijjakaṃ[5] sukhaṃ nāma n'atthī ti dasseti.

37. *Jāto vaḍḍho*[6] ti jāto ca vaḍḍhito ca. Yo hi kevalan tattha jāto va hoti aññattha vaḍḍhito, tassa samantā gāmamaggā na sabbaso paccakkhā honti, tasmā 'jāto vaḍḍho' ti āha. Jātavaḍḍho pi yo ciraṃ nikkhanto tassāpi na sabbaso paccakkhā honti,[7] tasmā 'tāvad eva avassatan' ti āha. Taṃ khaṇam eva nikkhantan ti attho. *Dandhāyitattan* ti ayaṃ nu kho maggo, ayaṃ na nu kho[8] ti kaṅkhāvasena cirāyitattaṃ. *Vitthāyitattan* ti yathā sukhumam atthajātaṃ sahasā pucchitassa kassaci sarīrathaddhabhāvaṃ gaṇhāti evaṃ[9] thaddhabhāvaggahaṇaṃ.

38. *No tvevā* ti iminā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa appaṭihatabhāvaṃ dasseti. Tassa hi purisassa Mārāvaṭṭanādi-vasena siyā ñāṇassa paṭighāto, tena so dandhāyeyya vā vitthāyeyya vā, sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ pana appaṭihataṃ, na sakkā tassa kenaci antarāyo kātun ti dīpeti.

39. *Ullumpatu bhavaṃ Gotamo* ti uddharatu bhavaṃ Gotamo. *Brahmaṇiṃ pajan* ti brāhmaṇa-dārakaṃ. Bhavaṃ Gotamo maṃ[10] brāhmaṇa-puttam apāyamaggato uddharitvā Brahmalokamagge patiṭṭhāpetū ti attho. Ath' assa Bhagavā Buddhuppādaṃ dassetvā saddhiṃ pubbabhāgapaṭipadāya mettāvihārādi Brahmaloka-gāmi-maggaṃ dassetukāmo 'tena hi Vāseṭṭhā' ti ādim āha.

40. Tattha *idha Tathāgato* ti ādi Sāmaññaphale vitthāritaṃ.

76. *Mettāsahagatenā* ti ādīsu yaṃ vattabban taṃ sabbaṃ Visuddhimagge Brahmavihāra-kammaṭṭhāna-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

1 B. tevijjakānaṃ
2 Si. tevijjaṃ
3 Si. iraṇaṃ
4 B. aparibho-
5 B. drops it and puts here ekaṃ pāvacanam āgamma.
6 B. & S. use saṃvaḍḍho throughout.
7 Si. puts it in singular.
8 S. ayaṃ nu kho no ti
9 Si. thaddha-dandha-
10 S. omits it ; B. mama

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77. 'Seyyathā pi Vāseṭṭha balavā saṅkhadhamo' ti ādi pana idha apubbaṃ. Tattha *balavā* ti balasampanno. *Saṅkhadhamo* ti saṅkhadhamako. *Appakasirenā* ti akicchena adukkhena, dubbalo hi saṅkhadhamo saṅkhaṃ dhamanto pi na sakkoti catasso disā sarena viññāpetuṃ, nāssa saṅkhasaddo sabbato pharati, balavato pana vipphāriko hoti, tasmā 'balavā' ti ādim āha. *Mettāya cetovimuttiyā* ti ettha mettā ti vutte upacāro pi appanā pi vaṭṭati. 'Cetovimuttī' ti vutte pana appanā va vaṭṭati.

Yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kamman ti pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma kāmāvacaraṃ vuccati. Appamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma rūpārūpāvacaraṃ. Taṃ hi pamāṇam atikkamitvā odissaka-anodissaka disāpharaṇavasena vaḍḍhetvā katattā 'appamāṇakatan' ti vuccati. *Na taṃ tatrāvasissati na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhatī* ti taṃ kāmāvacaraṃ kammaṃ tasmiṃ rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakamme[1] na ohiyyati na tiṭṭhatī ti. Kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti? Taṃ kāmāvacarakammaṃ tassa rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammassa antarā laggituṃ vā ṭhātuṃ vā rūpārūpāvacarakammaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā patiṭṭhātuṃ na sakkoti. Atha kho rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammam eva kāmāvacaraṃ mahogho viya parittam udakaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā tiṭṭhati tassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā sayam eva Brahmasahavyatam upanetī ti.

80. *Evaṃ vihārī* ti evaṃ mettādivihārī.

82. *Ete mayaṃ bhavantaṃ Gotaman* ti idaṃ tesaṃ dutiyasaraṇagamanaṃ. Paṭhamam eva h' ete majjhimapaññāsake Vāseṭṭhā-suttaṃ sutvā saraṇaṃ gatā, imaṃ pana Tevijja-suttaṃ sutvā dutiyam pi saraṇaṃ gatā, katipāhaccayena pabbajitvā Aggaññā-sutte upasampadañ c'eva arahattañ ca aladdhuṃ. Sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya TEVIJJA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā terasamaṃ.

Niṭṭhitā ca terasasutta-paṭimaṇḍitassa Sīlakkhandhavaggassa atthavaṇṇanā ti.

1 Si. rūpāvacarārūppa-

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hatthapādaṅguliyo mūle thūlā anupubbena gantvā agge tanukā niyyāsatelena madditvā vaṭṭitaharitālavaṭṭisadisā honti, tena vuttaṃ dīghaṅgulī ti

Mudutaluṇahatthapādo ti sappimaṇḍe[1] osāretvā[2] ṭhapitaṃ satavāravihatakappāsapaṭalaṃ viya mudu, yathā ca[3] jātamattassa evaṃ vuḍḍhikāle pi [4]mudutaluṇā yeva bhavissanti. Mudutaluṇā hatthapādā etassā ti mudutaluṇahatthapādo.

Jālahatthapādo ti na cammena paṭibaddha[5]-aṅgulantaro. Ediso hi phaṇahatthako purisadosena upahato pabbajjaṃ pi na labhati. Mahāpurisassa pana catasso hatthaṅguliyo pañca pi pādaṅguliyo ekappamāṇā honti, tāsaṃ pana ekappamaṇattā [6]jālalakkhaṇaṃ aññamaññaṃ paṭivijjhitvā tiṭṭhanti, ath' assa hatthapādā sukusalena vaḍḍhakinā yojitajālavātapānasadisā honti, tena vuttaṃ jālahatthapādo ti.

Uddhaṃ patiṭṭhitagopphakattā[7] ussaṅkhā pādā assā ti *ussaṅkhapādo*. Aññesaṃ hi piṭṭhipāde gopphakā honti, tena tesaṃ pādā āṇibaddhā viya baddhā[8] honti na yathāsukhaṃ parivattanti, gacchantānaṃ pādatalāni na dissanti. Mahāpurisassa pana ārohitvā uparigopphakā patiṭṭhahanti. Ten' assa nābhito paṭṭhāya uparimakāyo nāvāya ṭhapitasuvaṇṇapaṭimā viya niccalo va[9] hoti. Adharakāyo va iñjati. Sukhena pādā parivattanti. Purato pi pacchato pi ubhayapassesu pi ṭhatvā passantānaṃ pādatalāni paññāyanti, na hatthīnaṃ viya pacchato yeva.

Eṇijaṅgho ti eṇimigasadisajaṅgho. Maṃsussadena paripuṇṇajaṅgho na ekato baddhapiṇḍikamaṃso samantato samasaṇṭhitena maṃsena parikkhittāhi suvaṭṭitāhi[10] sāligabbhayavagabbhasadisāhi jaṅghāhi samannāgato ti attho.

Anonamanto ti anamanto. Eten' ass' eva akhujja avāmanabhāvo dīpito. Avasesā hi janā khujjā vā honti vāmanā vā. Khujjānaṃ uparimakāyo aparipuṇṇo hoti vāmanānaṃ heṭṭhimakāyo. Te aparipuṇṇakāyattā na sakkonti anonamantā jannukāni parimajjituṃ. Mahāpuriso pana paripuṇṇobhayakāyattā sakkoti.

Kosohitavatthaguyho ti usabhavāraṇādīnaṃ viya suvaṇṇapadumakaṇṇikāsadisehi kosehi ohitaṃ paṭicchannaṃ vatthaguyhaṃ assā ti kosohitavatthaguyho. Vatthaguyhan ti vatthena guyhitabbaṃ aṅgajātaṃ vuccati.

Suvaṇṇavaṇṇo ti jātihiṅgulakena madditvā[11] dīpidāḍhāya ghaṃsitvā

1 Si. -majjhe
2 Si. osādetvā
3 Si. adds idāni.
4 Si. omits mudu
5 Si. parinaddha
6 S. yaval
7 S. goppekattā
8 Si. thaddhā
9 Si. omits it.
10 Si. suvaḍḍhitāni
11 S. majjitvā

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gerukaparikammaṃ katvā ṭhapitaghanasuvaṇṇarūpasadiso[1] ti attho. Eten' assa ghanasiniddhasaṇhasarīrattaṃ dassetvā chavivaṇṇadassanatthaṃ *kañcanasannibhattaco* ti vuttaṃ purimassa vā vevacanam etaṃ.

Rajojallan ti rajo vā malaṃ vā. *Na upalimpatī* ti na laggati padumapalāsato udakabindu viya vivaṭṭati. Hatthadhovanādīnī pana utuggahaṇatthāya[2] c'eva dāyakānaṃ puññaphalatthāya ca [3]sabbabuddhā karonti, vattasīsenā pi ca karonti yeva. 'Senāsanaṃ pavisantena hi bhikkhunā pāde dhovitvā pavisitabban' ti vuttam etaṃ.

Uddhaggalomo ti āvaṭṭapariyosāne uddhaggāni hutvā mukhasobham ullokayamānāni viya ṭhitāni lomāni assā ti uddhaggalomo.

Brahmujugatto ti brahmā viya ujugatto ujukam eva uggatadīghasarīro bhavissati. Yebhuyyena hi sattā khandhe kaṭiyaṃ jānūsū ti tīsu ṭhānesu namanti. Te kaṭiyaṃ namantā pacchato namanti. Itaresu dvīsu ṭhānesu purato. Dīghasarīrā pana eke passe vaṅkā[4] honti, eke mukham unnāmetvā nakkhattāni gaṇayantā viya caranti. Eke appamaṃsalohitā sūlasadisā honti. Eke purato pabbhārā honti pavedhamānā gacchanti. Ayaṃ pana ujum eva uggantvā dīghappamāṇo devanagare [5]ussitasuvaṇṇatoraṇaṃ viya bhavissatī ti dīpenti. Yathā c' etam evaṃ yaṃ yaṃ jātamattassa sabbaso aparipuṇṇaṃ mahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ hoti tan tam āyatiṃ tathā bhāvitaṃ sandhāya vuttan ti veditabbaṃ.

Sattussado ti dve hatthapiṭṭhiyo dve pādapiṭṭhiyo dve aṃsakūṭāni khandho ti imesu sattasu ṭhānesu suparipuṇṇo maṃsussado assā ti sattussado. Aññesaṃ pana hatthapādapiṭṭhādīsu[6] sirājālaṃ paññāyati aṃsakūṭakhandesu aṭṭhikoṭiyo. Te manussā petā viya khāyanti, na tathā mahāpuriso. Mahāpuriso pana sattasu ṭhānesu paripuṇṇamaṃsussadattā niguḷhasirājālehi hatthapiṭṭhādīhi vaṭṭetvā ṭhapitasuvaṇṇāliṅgasadisena khandhena silārūpakaṃ viya khāyati cittakammarūpakaṃ viya ca khāyati.

Sīhapubbaddhakāyo ti sīhassa pubbaddhaṃ viya kāyo assā ti sīhapubbaddhakāyo. Sīhassa hi [7]purimakāyo va paripuṇṇo hoti, pacchimakāyo aparipuṇṇo. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa pubbaddhakāyo viya sabbakāyo paripuṇṇo. So pi sīhass' eva tattha tattha [8]unnataninnatādivasena dussaṇṭhito visaṇṭhito na hoti, dīghayuttaṭṭhāne pana dīgho, rassathūlakisaputhula anuvaṭṭita yuttaṭṭhānesu tathāvidho va[9] hoti.

1 Si. -ghanakanakarūpakasadiso
2 Si. -gaṇhana-
3 Si. drops sabba.
4 Si. ekena passena vaṅkā
5 Si. ussāpita-
6 Si. -pīṭṭhiyū
7 Si. puratthima
8 Si. vinatunnādi-
9 Si. omits it.

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Vuttaṃ h'etaṃ : 'manāpiyeva[1] kho bhikkhave kammavipāke paccupaṭṭhite yehi aṅgehi dīghehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni dīghāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi rassehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni rassāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi thūlehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni thūlāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi kisehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni kisāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi puthulehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni puthulāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi vaṭṭehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni vaṭṭāni saṇṭhahantī'ti. Iti dānacittena puññacittena vicittito[2] dasahi pāramīhi sajjito mahāpurisassa attabhāvo. Loke sabbasippino vā sabba-iddhimanto vā paṭirūpakaṃ pi[3] kātuṃ na sakkonti.

Citantaraṃso[4] ti antaraṃso vuccati dvinnaṃ koṭṭhānam antaraṃ. Taṃ citaṃ paripuṇṇam antaraṃsam[5] assā ti citantaraṃso. Aññesaṃ hi taṃ ṭhānaṃ ninnaṃ hoti, dve pīṭṭhikoṭṭhāsā[6] pāṭiyekkaṃ paññāyanti. Mahāpurisassa pana kaṭito paṭṭhāya maṃsapaṭalaṃ yāva khandhā uggamma samussita-suvaṇṇaphalakaṃ viya piṭṭhiṃ chādetvā patiṭṭhitaṃ.

Nigrodhaparimaṇḍalo ti nigrodho viya parimaṇḍalo. Yathā paññāsahatthatāya vā satahatthatāya vā samakhandhasākho nigrodho dīghato pi vitthārato pi ekappamāṇo va hoti, evaṃ kāyato pi vyāmato pi ekappamāṇo. Yathā aññesaṃ kāyo vā dīgho hoti vyāmo vā, na evaṃ visamappamāṇo ti attho. Ten' eva 'yāvatakvassa kāyo' ti ādi vuttaṃ. Tattha yāvatako assā ti yāvatakvassa.

Samavaṭṭakkhandho ti samavaṭṭitakkhando. Yathā eke koñcā viya ca bakā viya ca varāhā[7] viya ca honti[8] dīghagalā vaṅkagalā puthulagalā vā[9] honti, kathanakāle sirājālaṃ paññāyati, mando saro nikkhamati, na evaṃ mahāpurisassa. Mahāpurisassa pana suvaṭṭitasuvaṇṇāliṅgasadiso khandho hoti kathanakāle sirājālaṃ na paññāyati, meghassa viya gajjito[10] saro mahā hoti.

Rasaggasaggī ti ettha rasaṃ gasantī ti rasaggasā. Rasaharaṇīnam etam adhivacanaṃ. Tā aggā assā ti rasaggasaggī. Mahāpurisassa kira sattarasaharaṇīsahassāni[11] uddhaggāni hutvā gīvāyam eva paṭimukkāni. Tilaphalamatto pi āhāro jivhagge[12] ṭhapito sabbaṃ kāyam anuppharati. Ten' eva mahāpadhānaṃ padahantassa ekataṇḍulādīhi pi kāḷāya yūsapasatamattenā[13] pi kāyassa yāpanam ahosi. Aññesaṃ

1 Si. ca
2 S. citito
3 S. drops it.
4 S. pita for cita throughout.
5 S. drops it.
6 S. drops -sā.
7 Si. varāhakā
8 S. drops it.
9 S. ca
10 Si. gajjato
11 Si. -satāni
12 Si. jivhāya
13 Si. drops -mattenā.

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pana tathā abhāvā na sakalaṃ kāyam ojā pharati. Tena te bahvābādhā honti.

Sīhahanū ti sīhass' eva hanu assā ti sīhahanu. Tattha sīhassa heṭṭhima-hanum eva paripuṇṇaṃ hoti na uparimaṃ. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa heṭṭhimaṃ viya dve pi paripuṇṇāni dvādasiyā pakkhassa candasadisāni honti.

Atha nemittakā [1]hanupariyantam olokentvā va imesu hanukesu heṭṭhime vīsati uparime vīsati cattālīsa dantā samā aviraḷā[2] patiṭṭhahissantī ti sallakkhetvā [3] 'ayaṃ hi devakumāro *cattālīsadanto hotī*' ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tatrāyam attho. Aññesaṃ hi paripuṇṇadantānaṃ pi dvattiṃsa dantā honti, imassa pana cattālīsaṃ bhavissanti. Aññesañ ca keci dantā uccā keci nīcā keci visamā honti, imassa pana ayapaṭakena chinnasaṅkhapaṭalaṃ[4] viya samā bhavissanti. Aññesaṃ kumbhīlānaṃ[5] viya dantā viraḷā honti macchamaṃsāni khādantānaṃ dantantaraṃ pūrati, imassa pana kanakaphalakāya[6] samussitavajirapantī viya aviraḷā[7] tulikāya dassitaparicchedā viya dantā bhavissanti. Aññesañ ca pūtidantā uṭṭhahanti tena kāci dāḍhā kālā pi vivaṇṇā pi honti. Ayaṃ pana suṭṭhu sukkadāḍho osadhitārakaṃ pi atikkamma virocamānāya pabhāya samannāgatadāḍho bhavissati.

Pahūtajivho ti puthulajivho. Aññesaṃ jivhā thūlā pi honti kisā pi rassā pi thaddhā pi visamā pi. Mahāpurisassa pana jivhā mudu dīghā puthulā vaṇṇasampannā hoti. So taṃ lakkhaṇaṃ pariyesitum āgatānaṃ kaṅkhāvinodanatthaṃ mudukattā taṃ jivhaṃ kaṭhinasuciṃ viya vaṭṭetvā ubho nāsikāsotāni parimasati, dīghattā ubho kaṇṇasotāni parimasati, puthulattā kesantapariyosānaṃ kevalaṃ pi nalāṭaṃ paṭicchādeti, evan tassā mudu-dīgha-puthula-bhāvaṃ pakāsento tesaṃ kaṅkhaṃ vinodeti. Evaṃ tilakkhaṇasampannaṃ jivhaṃ sandhāya 'pahūtajivho' ti vuttaṃ.

Brahmassaro ti aññe pi chinnassarā pi bhinnassarā pi kākassarā pi honti. Ayaṃ pana mahābrahmuno sarasadisena[8] saddena samannāgato bhavissati. Mahābrahmuno hi pittasemhehi apaḷibuddhattā saro visuddho hoti. Mahāpurisenā pi katakamman tassa vatthuṃ sodheti. Vatthuno suddhattā nābhito paṭṭhāya samuṭṭhahanto saro visuddho aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgato va samuṭṭhāti. Karavīko viya bhaṇatī ti *karavīkabhāṇī*. Matta-karavīkaruta[9]mañjughoso ti attho.

Abhinīlanetto ti na sakalanīlanetto va. Nīlayuttaṭṭhāne pan'assa ummāpupphasadisena ativisuddhena nīlavaṇṇena samannāgatāni nettāni

1 Si. hanuka-
2 Si. avivarā
3 Si. adds here ti.
4 Si. ayopattacchinnasaṅkhapaṭalaṃ
5 S. kumbhīrānaṃ
6 Si. 'latāyaṃ
7 Si. aviraḷā ti
8 S. sarassa sadisena
9 S. drops ruta.

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honti. Pītayuttaṭṭhāne kaṇṇikārapupphasadisena pītavaṇṇena, lohitayuttaṭṭhāne bandhujīvakapupphasadisena lohitavaṇṇena, setayuttaṭṭhāne osadhitārakasadisena setavaṇṇena, kālayuttaṭṭhāne addāriṭṭhaka[1]sadisena kālavaṇṇena samannāgatāni suvaṇṇavimāne ugghāṭitamaṇisīhapañjarasadisāni khāyanti.

Gopakhumo ti ettha pakhuman ti sakalacakkhugeṇḍam[2] abhippetaṃ. Taṃ kālavacchakassa bahaladhātukaṃ hoti rattavacchakassa vippasannaṃ, taṃ muhuttajātataruṇarattavacchakasadisacakkhugeṇḍo ti attho. Aññesañ hi akkhigeṇḍā aparipuṇṇā honti, hatthimusikakākā-[3]dīnam akkhisadisehi viniggatehi pi gambhīrehi pi akkhīhi samannāgatā honti. Mahāpurisassa pana dhovitvā majjitvā ṭhapitamaṇiguḷikāni viya mudusiniddhanīlasukhumācitāni[4] akkhīni.

Uṇṇā ti uṇṇālomaṃ. *Bhamukantare* ti dvinnaṃ bhamukānaṃ vemajjhe nāsikāmatthake yeva jātā. Uggantvā pana nalāṭavemajjhe jātā. *Odātā* ti parisuddhā osadhitārakasamavaṇṇā. *Mudu* ti sappimaṇḍe osāretvā[6] ṭhapitasatavāravihatakappāsapaṭalasadisā. *Tūlasannibhā* ti simbalītūlasamānā.[7] Ayam assā pi odātatāya upamā. Sā pan' esā koṭiyaṃ gahetvā ākaḍḍhiyamānā upaḍḍhabāhuppamāṇā hoti. Vissaṭṭhā dakkhiṇāvaṭṭavasena āvaṭṭetvā[8] uddhaggā hutvā santiṭṭhati, suvaṇṇaphalakamajjhe ṭhapitarajatabubbulakaṃ[9] viya suvaṇṇaghaṭato nikkhamamānā khīradhārā viya aruṇappabhārañjite gaganappadese[10] osadhitārakā viya ca atimanoharāya siriyā virocati.

Uṇhīsasīso ti idaṃ paripuṇṇanalāṭatañ c'eva[11] paripuṇṇasīso tañ cā ti dve atthavase paṭicca vuttaṃ. Mahāpurisassa hi dakkhiṇakaṇṇacūḷikato paṭṭhāya maṃsapaṭalam uṭṭhahitvā sakalanalāṭaṃ chādiya[12]-mānaṃ pūrayamānaṃ gantvā vāmakaṇṇacūḷikāya patiṭṭhitaṃ rañño bandha-uṇhīsapaṭṭo viya virocati. Mahāpurisassa kira imaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ disvā rājūnam uṇhīsapaṭṭam[13] akaṃsu. Ayan tāva eko attho. Aññe pana janā aparipuṇṇasīsā honti. Keci kapisīsā[14] keci phalasīsā keci aṭṭhisīsā keci kumbhasīsā keci pabbhārasīsā. Mahāpurisassa pana āraggena vaṭṭetvā ṭhapitaṃ viya suparipuṇṇaṃ udakabubbulasadisaṃ sīsaṃ hoti. Tattha purimanaye[15] uṇhīsavaṭṭhitasīso viyā ti uṇhīsasīso. Dutiyanaye uṇhīsaṃ viya sabbattha parimaṇḍalasīso ti uṇhīsasīso.

33. *Sabbakāmehī* ti idaṃ lakkhaṇāni [16]paṭiggaṇhāpetvā pacchā

1 S. addāriṭṭha 2 B.&Si. ganda throughout 3 B.&Si. drop kākā.
4 B.&S. sukhumapakhumācitāni 5 S. gulikā
6 Si. osādetvā, cf. above p. 73 7 B.&Si. simbalītula-latātulasamānā
8 Si. āvattitvā 9 S. pubbulakaṃ 10 Si. gaganadese
11 B.&Si. drop eva. 12 Si. chādaya- 13 S. -paṭaṃ
14 Si. kappasīsā 15 Si. -nayena 16 Si. pati-

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kataṃ viya vuttaṃ, na pan' eva daṭṭhabbaṃ. Paṭhamaṃ hi nemittake santappetvā pacchā lakkhaṇapaṭiggahaṇaṃ katan t[2] veditabbaṃ. Tassa vitthāro gabbhokkantiyaṃ vutto yeva.

34. *Pāyentī* ti thaññaṃ pāyenti. Bodhisattassa[1] kira niddosena madhurena khīrena samannāgatā saṭṭhi dhātiyo upaṭṭhāpesi. Tathā[2] sesā pi tesu tesu kammesu kusalā saṭṭhi saṭṭhi yeva, tāsaṃ pesanakārāke saṭṭhi purise, tāsaṃ tassakatākatabhāvasallakkhake saṭṭhi amacce upaṭṭhāpesi.[3] Evaṃ [4]cattārisaṭṭhiyo itthīnaṃ dve saṭṭhiyo purisānan ti cha saṭṭhiyo upaṭṭhākānaṃ yeva ahesuṃ.

Setacchattan ti dibbasetacchattaṃ. Kuladattiyaṃ pana sirigabbhe va tiṭṭhati. *Mā naṃ sītaṃ vā* ti ādīsu mā abhibhavī ti attho veditabbo.

Svassusudan[5] ti so assu[6] sudaṃ. *Aṅken' eva aṅkan* ti aññassa[7] bāhunā va aññassa bāhuṃ aññassa ca aṃsakūṭen' eva aññassa aṃsakūṭaṃ. *Parihariyatī* ti niyyāti sampāpiyatī ti attho.

35. *Mañjussaro* ti akharassaro. *Vaggussaro* ti chekapuṇṇassaro.[8] *Madhurassaro* ti sātassaro. *Pemanīyassaro* ti pemajanakassaro. Tatrīdaṃ karavīkānaṃ madhurassaratāya karavīkasakuṇe kira madhurarasaṃ ambapakkaṃ [9]mukhatuṇḍakena paharitvā paggharitaṃ rasaṃ pivitvā pakkhena tāḷaṃ datvā vikujamāne[10] catuppadā[11] mattā viya lalitum ārabhanti. Gocarapasutā pi catuppadā mukhagatāni tiṇāni chaḍḍetvā taṃ saddaṃ suṇanti. Vāḷamigā khuddakamige[12] anubandhamānā ukkhittaṃ pādaṃ anikkhipitvā tiṭṭhanti. Anubandhamigā ca maraṇabhayaṃ jahitvā tiṭṭhanti. Ākāse pakkhantā pakkhino pi pakkhe pasāretvā saddaṃ suṇamānā va[13] tiṭṭhanti. Udake macchā pi kaṇṇapaṭalam apoṭhentā[14] taṃ saddaṃ suṇamānā va tiṭṭhanti. Evaṃ madhurassarā karavīkā.[15]

Asandhimittā pi Dhammāsokassa devī, 'atthi nu kho bhante Buddhasaddena sadiso kassaci saddo ti?' saṃghaṃ pucchi. Atthi karavīkasakuṇassā ti. Kuhiṃ bhante te sakuṇā ti? Himavante ti. Sā rājānaṃ āha, 'deva karavīkasakuṇaṃ passitukāmamhī' ti. Rājā 'imasmiṃ pañjare nisīditvā karavīko āgacchatū' ti suvaṇṇapañjaraṃ vissajjesi. Pañjaro gantvā ekassa karavīkassa purato aṭṭhāsi. So

1 Si. adds tassa.
2 Si. puts tathī twice.
3 Si. upaṭṭhapesi
4 Si cattāro
5 B.&Si. and the P.T.S. Dīgha Nikāya have svāssudaṃ.
6 Si. omits assu ; B. assudaṃ
7 Si. aññissā
8 S. chekaparipuṇṇassaro
9 Si. drops mukha.
10 S. vikujjhamāne
11 Si. catuppadānī mattānī
12 Si. khuddamigha
13 Si. omits it.
14 B. & S. apphoṭetvā
15 S. karavikā

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rājāṇāya āgato pañjaro na sakkā agantun ti tattha nisīdi. Pañjaro āgantvā rañño purato va aṭṭhāsi. Karavīkaṃ saddaṃ kārāpetuṃ na sakkonti. Atha rājā kathaṃ bhaṇe ime saddaṃ karontī ti āha. Ñātake disvā devā ti. Atha naṃ rājā ādāsehi parikkhipāpesi. So attano chāyaṃ disvā ñātakā me āgatā ti maññamāno pakkhena tāḷaṃ datvā madhurassarena[1] maṇivaṃsaṃ dhamamāno viya viravi. Sakalanagare manussā mattā viya ahesuṃ.[2] Asandhimittā cintesi, imassa tāva tiracchānagatassa evaṃ madhuro saddo kīdiso nu kho sabbaññutaññāṇasirippattassa Bhagavato saro[3] ahosī ti pītim uppādetvā taṃ pītim avijahitvā sattahi jaṅghasatehi saddhiṃ sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāsi. Evaṃ madhuro kira karavīkasaddo ti. Tato pana satabhāgena sahassabhāgena madhurataro Vipassissa kumārassa saddo ahosī ti veditabbo[4].

36. *Kammavipākajan* ti na bhāvanāmayaṃ. Kammavipākavasena pana devatānaṃ cakkhusadisam eva maṃsacakkhu ahosi, yena nimittaṃ katvā tilavāhe pakkhittam ekatilaṃ pi ayaṃ so ti uddharitvā dātuṃ sakkoti.

37. *Vipassī* ti ettha ayaṃ vacanattho. Antarantarā [5]nimesajanitandhakāravirahena viruddhaṃ passati, vivaṭehi ca akkhīhi passatī ti Vipassī. Dutiyavāre, viceyya viceyya[6] passatī ti Vipassi. Vicinitvā vicinitvā[7] passatī ti attho. Tattha *panāyatī* ti atthe[8] jānāti passati nayati vā pavattetī ti attho. Ekadivasaṃ kira vinicchayaṭṭhāne nisīditvā aṭṭaṃ anusāsantassa rañño alaṅkatapaṭiyattaṃ mahāpurisam āharitvā hatthe ṭhapayiṃsu. Tassa tam[9] aṅke katvā upalāḷayamānass' eva amaccā sāmikam assāmikam akaṃsu. Bodhisatto anattamanasaddaṃ nicchāresi. 'Rājā kim etaṃ kim etam[10]upadhārethā' ti āha. Upadhārayamānā aññam adisvā aṭṭassa[11] dubbinicchitattā evaṃ kataṃ bhavissatī ti. Puna sāmikaṃ yeva sāmikaṃ katvā ñatvā nu kho kumāro evaṃ karotī ti vimaṃsantā puna sāmikam assāmikam akaṃsu. Puna Bodhisatto tath' eva taṃ saddaṃ nicchāresi. Atha rājā jānāti mahāpuriso ti tato paṭṭhāya appamattā ahosi. Idaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ 'viceyya viceyya kumāro aṭṭe' panāyatī ti.

38. *Vassikan* ti ādīsu yattha sukhaṃ hoti vassakāle vassitum ayaṃ vassiko. Itaresu pi es' eva nayo. Ayaṃ pan' ettha vacanattho[13]. Vassā-

1 S. mandassarena 2 S.&B. laliṃsu 3 Si. omits it.
4 Si. omits it. 5 S. nimmisasañjanita-
6 Si. does not repeat viceyya. 7 Si. does not repeat vicinitvā.
8 Si. omits it. 9 Si. atthe 10 S. does not repeat kim etaṃ.
11 Si atthassa 12 Si. atthe 13 S. aṭṭho

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vāso vassaṃ, taṃ arahatī ti[1] vassiko. Itaresu pi es' eva nayo. Tattha vassiko pāsādo nāti-ucco hoti nāti-nīco. Dvāravātapānāni pīssa nātibāhūni nātitanukāni. Bhummattharaṇapaccattharaṇakhajjabhojjāni p'ettha missakān' eva vaṭṭanti. Hemantike thambhā pi bhittiyo pi nīcā honti. Dvāravātapānāni pi tanukāni sukhumacchiddāni uṇhappavesanatthāya bhittiniyyūhāni [2]hariyanti. Bhummattharaṇapaccattharaṇanivāsanapārupanāni pan'ettha uṇhaviriyāni kambalādīni vaṭṭan ti. Khajjabhojjaṃ siniddhaṃ kaṭukasannissitaṅ ca. Gimhike thambhā pi bhittiyo pi uccā honti. Dvāravātapānāni pi pan' ettha bahūni vipulajālāni honti. Bhummattharaṇādīni dukūlamayādīni vaṭṭanti. Khajjabhojjāni[3] madhurarasasītaviriyāni. Vātapānasamīpesu c' ettha navacāṭiyo ṭhapetvā udakassa pūretvā niluppalādihi sañchādenti. Tesu tesu padesesu udakayantāni karonti ye hi deve vassante viya udakadhārā nikkhamanti.

Nippurisehī ti purisavirahitehi. Na kevalaṅ c'ettha tūriyān' eva nippurisāni. Sabbaṭṭhānāni pi nippurisān' eva. Dovarikā pi itthiyo va. Nahāpanādi parikammakārā pi itthiyo va. Rājā kira tathārūpam issariyasukhasampattim anubhavamānassa purisaṃ disvā purisasaññā[4] uppajjati sā me puttassa mā ahosī' ti sabbakiccesu itthiyo va ṭhapesī ti.

Paṭhamabhāṇavāravaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

DUTIYABHĀṆAVĀRA[5]

2. *Gopānasivaṅkan* ti gopānasiṃ viya vaṅkaṃ. *Bhoggan* ti khandhe kaṭiyaṃ jānūsū ti tīsu ṭhānesu ābhaggavaṅkaṃ. *Daṇḍaparāyaṇan* ti daṇḍa-gatikaṃ daṇḍa-paṭisaraṇaṃ. *Āturan* jarāturaṃ. *Gatayobbanan* ti atikkaṇṭa[6]yobbanaṃ pacchimavaye ṭhitaṃ. *Disvā* ti aḍḍhayojanappamāṇena balakāyena parivuto susaṃvihitārakkho pi gacchanto yadā ratho purato hoti pacchā[7] balakāyo tādise okāse Suddhāvāsakhīṇāsavabrahmehi attano ānubhāvena rathassa purato va dassitaṃ taṃ purisaṃ passitvā, Suddhāvāsā kira 'mahāpuriso paṅke gaja viyo paṅcasu kāmaguṇesu laggo, satiṃ assa uppādessāmā' ti taṃ dassesuṃ. Evaṃ dassitaṃ ca taṃ Bodhisatto c'eva passati sārathi ca. Brahmāṇo pi hi Bodhisattassa appamādatthaṃ sārathissa ca kathāsallāpanatthan[8] taṃ dassessuṃ.

1 Si. vasse vāso vasso vassaṃ arahatīti
2 S. nīhariyanti
3 S. -bhojanaṃ
4 S. purisāsaṅkā ; Si. parisaṅkā
5 Si. & B. -vāra
6 S. adds yo
7 S. pacchato
8 Si. -sallāpatthaṃ

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